CONTINUITIES IN THE URBANIZATION OF THE SOUTH: A QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF RECENT URBAN GROWTH IN SMALL TOWNS AND CITIES

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To Whom It May Concern:

This is to certify that Mr. Spiros Peter Bougiatiotis has completed all requirements for the M.A. degree in Sociology which will be awarded at the August 2 Convocation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Current urbanization in the United States is largely identified as a phenomenon connected with a post-industrial society. Yet in the South, current urban growth is still very much affected by contemporary industrial expansion, as well as by other heurestic trends. While in the past, concern had been with the future of small towns and cities, at a time when metropolitan growth and rural to urban migration was accelerating, small towns and cities are now becoming the locus for urban growth.

In this study an examination is made of metropolitan as well as non-metropolitan recent urban growth occuring in the South. Although metropolitan central city expansion and numerous other demographic trends are discussed, special interest lies upon the appearance of new small towns and cities. New small urban places have underscored the process of urbanization in the South, for they are increasingly maintaining their population to a greater degree than the large cities.

Central city growth and metro ring expansion is still quite evident within the Southern States, and it is discussed in detail in Chapter II of this thesis. Nevertheless, due to the elaborate growth of metropolitan and non-metropolitan new towns and cities, the primary concern remains with new small urban places. These are places which have grown over the 1960 to 1970 interim, and they have been classified as urban by the Census Bureau in the 1970 enumeration.

The scrutiny of the small community or town probes in to the fundamental impetus of urbanization. Furthermore, it is as an important and enlightening evaluation as the examination of urban societal structure within a region or a country.

Several factors may be involved in urban development that has taken place in the South. Some of these factors are (1) labor supply, (2) industrial development, (3) availability of resources, (4) migration patterns, (5) institutional modifications, (6) the educational system and (7) changes in regional idealism in the domain of human relations. The most significant factors involve changes in occupational structure, changes in educational attainment, and shifts in the economic base from primary to secondary and tertiary industry.

This thesis analyzes the process of urbanization and its direct relation to demographic trends in the South. The social and physical environments of the South are to be regarded as transitional, dynamic, diversified systems, and not as part of a static homogeneous society with no changes whatsoever. The degree of change, as the case is with the growth of new small urban places, has been the regulator and determinant of urban growth and progress in the South.

The substantive content depicting the characteristics of the materialistic and non-materialistic elements of culture, must be compared to the spatial and physical make up of a community. For these configurations are the result of annexation, zoning and reconstructional expansion that have affected the growth of cities, metropolitan areas, or rural communities. The large cities of the South, with minor exceptions, have

experienced continuous immigration of blacks and whites since 1950. This has contributed significantly to metropolitan growth. However, the process of decentralization, and the recent rate of growth of small towns and cities, are subsequently becoming primary determinants for urban growth. Technological and industrial progress that has occured since 1945, is another imperative phenomenan that accounts for the recent urbanization of the South.

Following World War II, a predominately agricultural mode of life in the South began to reach new capacities and eventually led to several dramatic changes. The "Cotton Belt" located between the Blue Ridge and Coastal areas, began to grow rapidly in urban population. Substantial urban growth occured in the Subregions of South Atlantic and West South Central as of 1950. Migratory movements from rural communities into cities appeared to be a phenomenon quite fluid, and were especially evident of blacks and the rural population. Migration has always been essential to urban growth, and recent changes in the migration movements have enabled the growth of nonmetro urban places.

Since 1960, the growth of metro fringe areas and many rural towns has been indicative of population increases in many areas of the South. Other than the actual growth and development of densely settled areas, recent urban growth has occured in satellite cities and rural places to the extent that they become redefined as urban. Urban growth as the product of a socio-economic process, involves a transition from a rural mode of life and residence, to non-agricultural occupations and life styles in the city. Many newly emerging urban places are outside of

urbanized areas, although they are frequently within easy access to a large city. Despite the predominance of the central cities as entertainment and cultural centers, much of the retail and commercial business has moved to the metro-ring from the central city. Availability of services and facilities in the metro-ring and the nonmetro areas, have prompted urban growth and concentration outside of urbanized areas. Other contributing factors, have been improvements in transportation and communication. Such improvements have allowed for urban growth in rural hinterland areas, and have induced the emigration of city dwellers toward metro-ring and rural districts.

Objectives and Scope of the Current Study

The primary objective of this study is to examine the role played by the appearance and growth of small urban places in the overall process of urbanization in the South. For urban growth not only occurs within established places, but the number of places itself increases from decade to decade. In order to accomplish this objective, a file of newly appearing urban places is established for the South by state and metropolitan status as of 1970. The 1970 Census enumeration is used as a base. Each place is analysed as to its status in 1960, whether it was rural or entirely nonexistent.

From this file of places and population data, general trends in Southern urbanization are comparatively examined.

Organization of Thesis

Prior to the examination of small urban places as an entity, an

analysis is made on the overall recent urban growth that is occurring in the South. The context of urban growth, discussed in Chapter II, elaborates on regional metropolitan growth, metro expansion and depopulation, and the notion of risk reflected in trends of migration, fertility and mortality. Additional discussion in Chapter II, reveals other past and current studies relevant to the urbanization of the South, and includes a limited introduction on the growth of small places. The Southern regions examined in this report, are classified as follows according to their constituent states: (1) South Atlantic: Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. (2) East South Central: Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi. (3) West South Central: Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma and Texas.

Chapter III of the thesis provides a format constituting the theoretical framework, hypotheses relevant to the growth of small urban places and the growth of counties, as well as a rational for the methodological procedures that were followed during the research.

In Chapter IV, the actual urban growth of small places is systematically presented according to the 1960 and 1970 Census enumerations. In the same chapter following an analysis of newly emergent urban places, a comparative analysis of entirely new urban places, size and density of places, and county growth is made. The presentation of county growth is supplemented by county maps on the Southern states. These maps are to be found in the appendix of the thesis.

The entire study is reviewed and ultimately summarized in Chapter V.

In this final chapter, a summary of findings is supplemented by a discussion of socio-economic characteristics, and implications for further research are outlined. The closing remarks reiterate a relative point of view regarding the process of urbanization.

Throughout the study, research data and findings are frequently assessed in tables, where they are quantitatively tabulated by state, county, or size of place. Moreover, Chapters II and IV entail a brief summary of the material that have been presented in each of these chapters.

CHAPTER II

URBANIZATION OF THE SOUTH

This chapter discusses first the past and current studies that have been concerned with urbanization in the South, and then proceeds into an analysis of metro growth in the Southern regions and the demographic trends that have affected urban growth. The latter part of the chapter descriptively approaches the growth of small towns and cities, and it also entails an overall summary of the content in this chapter.

Past and Current Studies of Urbanization

Previous studies that have been conducted by the University of North Carolina, by such scholars as Rupert Vance,[1] Howard Odum,[2] and by numerous other sociologists, historians, and demographers, have asserted that the South has indeed exhibited unique but sometimes abberational characteristics in comparison with the rest of the nation. Ralph McGill, in The South and the Southerner, has descriptively presented a historical evaluation of the pre-Civil War era in the South and shows those changes which followed during Reconstruction.[3] Allison Davis has utilized

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1 Rupert Vance, The South's Place in the Nation (n.p.; Public Affairs Committee, Incorporated, 1941).

2 Howard Odum, The Southern Regions (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936).

3 Ralph McGill, The South and the Southerner (Boston: Little, Brown Press and Company, 1963).

social-psychological factors such as caste system oppression and reinforcement in order to describe the type of social relationships and cultural disparities that were apparent in the South.[1] John Dollard analyzed status-role relationships and class conflict among Southerners,[2] and Myrdal's work remains a classic in the description of race relations in the South prior to school desegregation.[3]

Since World War II, the University of North Carolina has been one of the main sources of research on urbanization in the South. Even prior to the war, Odum and Vance were studying the effects of an emerging urban South upon the remainder of the nation. Considerable effort was spent in the analysis of demographic trends and socio-economic characteristics in Southern subregions. Practically all scholars examining urbanization trends prior to the war envisioned the South as agriculturally oriented and as an economically deprived region. The Ante-Bellum South represented the extremes. Several causes are usually designated as contributory to this economic disadvantage, among them are; one party political systems, the one crop system, usury credit systems, over-production of crops, inadequate agricultural planning, prejudice and discrimination, and failure to utilize federal assistance (voluntary or involuntary).

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1 Allison Davis and John Dollard, Children of Bondage (Washington, D. C.: American Counsil of Education, 1940).

2 Ibid.

3 Gunner Myrdall, An American Dilemma (New York, London: Harper and Brothers, 1944).

Since World War II, however, an agricultural way of life is rapidly disappearing from the South. Southern cities are growing and are doing so very rapidly. Less than half of the South's people could be classified as urban in 1940; although by 1970 almost two out of three southerners were living in areas classified by the Bureau of the Census as urban.[1] Furthermore, only 6 percent of the South's population is engaged in agricultural pursuits. Most of the recent studies of urbanization in the South have focused attention on the growth of the urban population, a changing economy, and shifts in the occupational structure. These indices appear to be the most important in describing the process of urbanization.

At the University of Georgia research is being conducted by NSF-RANN, "Population Redistribution" project, to study the affects of annexation on the growth of all urban places. Studies by Tarver, Beale, and Fuguitt have used the cohort method in order to examine the growth of small towns and villages.[2] Tarver analyzed the growth of Southern nonmetropolitan towns in the decade 1950 to 1960, through the conceptualization of 1950 as the cohort year, thus comparing it with the cohort growth percentages for these places up to 1960.[3]

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[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: Number of Inhabitants, 1970 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1970), pp. 42-44.

[2] Cohort Method - The examination of the same "universe sample" at two different points in time. It can be utilized as instantaneous or as cumulatively dynamic. It is usually employed in longitudinal studies on surveys.

[3] James Tarver and Calvin Beale, "Population Trends in Southern Nonmetropolitan Towns," Rural Sociology 33, 1 (March, 1968), 19-29.

Fuguitt's research is concerned with the growth of all incorporated nonmetropolitan centers, and it capitalizes upon the places that have appeared in the 1970 Census. He has examined the growth of these places in the 1950-1960 and 1960-1970 periods. Fuguitt has devised cohorts for 1950 and 1960 so as to examine growth up to the 1970 enumeration. In examining the growth that occured in the twenty year period, he found that approximately a two percent loss of the total number of places was evident in the census during each of the two decades. Contrary to the Tarver study, Fuguitt's study has to an extent controled for the disappearance of old places and the introduction of new places; for he has included places of all sizes.[1]

Relevant research has also been undertaken by Tucker on an analysis of American towns and cities, and on urban growth in the South from 1960 to 1970. This study disclosed that places in metro areas grew at rate in excess of places in nonmetro areas, although nonmetro growth was relatively high at 12 percent from 1950 to 1960. Also, few relationships were found between the size of place and growth rates. Within the metro areas places grew in excess of 25 percent but there did not appear to be any relationship between size of place and growth. Furthermore, the South was exceeded in urban growth only in the West.

Regional Metropolitan Growth

The high rate of urban growth in the Southeast and the Southwest is

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[1] Glen Fuguitt, "The Places Left Behind: Population Trends and Policy for Rural America," Rural Sociology, 36 (December, 1971), 449-470.

narrowing the gap that had existed with respect to the urbanized areas of the Northeast, North Central, and West regions previous to 1955.

Commercial complimentarity and multilateral industrial interdependence have enhanced intor-state and interstate metropolitan growth. Multilateral interactions which are prompted by improvements in communication, transportation, and spatial mobility, have facilitated metro and nonmetro urban growth. Continued industrial growth has involved such cities as Atlanta, Dallas, Miami, Memphis, New Orleans, Baltimore, and Richmond, to name a few, in business relations with multinational corporations. This has contributed to the importation and exportation of finance capital, commodities, and direct portfolio investments to other industrialized and Third World countries. Recent industrial urbanization in the South can be depicted as an inevitable and indispensable process. Even though urbanization per se is not a new phenomenon for the South, especially when compared with the North Central region and areas of the North West, the current urban growth that began after World War II is the kaleidoscope of a new industrial revolution. The dissemination of contractual relations and rational calculations dictated by technocracy are the trademark of the recent urban growth.

Metropolitan growth and the growth of all urban places since 1960, has depended not only upon the density of population and physical proximity, but also upon specialization and the dispersion of technocratic productivity, Institutional reconstructions based upon contractual calculations are apparent in all large metro cities.

Within the subregions intor-area diversifications are as evident as

inter-area ones. Lingering are still numerous counties, especially in the states of Mississippi, Louisiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia, South Carolina, and Alabama, which are confronted with impoverishment and local rigidity. Based on the 1960 Census data is reported the functional integration of three megalopoles in the South, which were listed as part of the thirteen largest megalopoles in the nation. These "Strip cities"[1] were Fort Worth-Dallas-San Antonio-Houston, Miami-Tampa-Jacksonville, and Atlanta to Raleigh, North Carolina. Although these areas are theoretically functionally interdepended there are manifested diversities not only in the demographic characteristics of the population, but the metropolitan economic and political functions as well.

The 1970 metropolitan population in the South is estimated at 35 million persons, a change of 6.3 million or 22 percent over the 1960 metro population.[2] The rates of natural increase and net migration for the 1960-1970 decade are respectively 14.7 and 7.2 percent. Natural increase was only 11.4 percent and net out migration 5.7 percent for metropolitan areas during the decade.

In the interim 1960-1970 the Southwest experienced the greatest metropolitan rate of natural increase at 16.7 percent. The South Atlantic

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1 "Strip Cities" - A delineation for the formation of contiguous metropolitan entities. The fusing of the boundaries of one metropolitan area with the boundaries of another one on a continuoum basis. It is analogous to the concept of "Megolopolis."

2 U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: Number of Inhabitants, 1970 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1970), pp. 206-207.

has the highest rate of metropolitan net immigration, at 12.4 percent, and the lowest rate of nonmetropolitan net outmigration (-3.4 percent). The East South Central had the lowest rates of metropolitan increase 13.0 and migration -1.8, but it also had a nonmetropolitan natural increase rate of 11.4 and a net outmigration high rate of -8.5.

The states that have experienced most urban growth due to metro population increase and spatial expansion since 1960 have been Texas, Georgia, Florida, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and Delaware.

The SMSA's[1] that have accumulated the greatest amount of spatial expansion are Dallas, and Houston, Texas; New Orleans, Louisiana; Norfolk-Portsmouth, Virginia; Atlanta, Georgia; Gainesville, West Palm Beach, Fort Lauderdale-Hollywood, Florida; Memphis, Tennesses; and Austin, Texas. Also, considerable growth has occurred in Greensboro-Winston-Salem-Highpoint, Tampa-St. Petersburg, and Fayetteville, North Carolina. Specialization induced by population density and technocratic orientation, is a growing phenomenon and may be occuring within all these metropolitan areas of the South.

Industrialization has created urban interdependence and consolidation to a certain degree among all social groups. Metropolitan areas are invariably confronted with conflictual administrative and social problems of urban proximity and industrial expansion. The 1960 enumeration

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[1] (SMSA) or Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, is the term used by the Bureau of the Census for reference to a city of 50,000 or more population, the county in which the city is located, and contiguous counties if they meet certain formal specifications in terms of work force and place of work and residence.

for the Miami population was 852,705 inhabitants. Current figures indicate that the population of Miami has risen to 1,321,200 persons. Integration of the Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Hollywood urbanized area is rapidly developing into a megalopolis at the Southeastern section of the Florida peninsula. The Fort Lauderdale-Hollywood SMSA is the fastest growing in the South according to the 1970 Census figures. It grew at better than 85 percent during the 1960-1970 decade, and it ranks as the fourth fastest growing SMSA in the entire nation. The West Palm Beach, Florida, SMSA ranked eighth in growth in the nation with 53 percent change, and Gainesville, Florida, is sixteenth with 41 percent change. In the metro areas, the rural non-farm population has in many instances migrated into the satellite cities and assumed service occupations for these suburban residential communities. The rapid growth of the suburban zone and the sporadic growth of rural-urban fringe are typical of modern urban-industrial growth in the South. Boskoff defines suburbs as,

> urbanized nuclei located outside (but within accessible range) of central cities that are politically independent but economically and psychologically linked with services and facilities provided by the metropolis.[1]

Needless to say, the majority of the population residing in these suburban communities is employed within the central city or the adjacent industrial satellite areas. Fava has conceived the suburbs as applicable to residential or dormitory life styles.[2] They are characterized by

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1 Alvin Boskoff, The Sociology of Urban Regions (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962), p. 133.

2 Sylvia F. Fava, "Suburbanism as a Way of Life," American Sociological Review, XXI (February, 1956), 34-37.

dependence on the city occupationally and for various specialized types of shopping and recreation. These satellite cities and suburbs are to be found within the metropolitan ring and within commuting distance from the central city.

As of 1970, the largest urbanized areas and the ones that have experienced most of the growth in the South are: Houston, Dallas-Fort Worth, New Orleans, Atlanta, Birmingham, Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Hollywood, Tampa-St. Petersburg, Jacksonville, Norfolk, and the Washington-Baltimore area.

In all "urbanized areas"[1] the burgeoning suburbs are by no means identical and homogeneous centers, even though they are not as diversified as the ones to be found in the metropolitan areas of the Northeast and Mideast. There is also evidence of a new form of urbanism and city growth is different from that of the past. Cities are mainly characterized by retail and central business offices and a large working population of the lower classes. Cities such as Atlanta, Dallas, Miami, and New Orleans are not only culturally prolific, but are also regarded as international centers.

Nationally, the rate of growth of United States metropolitan areas is decreasing after undergoing an increase in the sixties. The rates in rural and nonmetropolitan areas are rising gradually. From 1960 to 1970 the population of the country's SMSA's increased by 16.6

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[1] "Urbanized Area" - A concept used by the Bureau of the Census for population enumeration. It refers to one or more cities of 50,000 or more population, and all the adjacent territory or urban fringe area.

percent.[1] From April 1, 1970 to July 1, 1972 the SMSA population has been estimated to have increased by only 2.2 percent, and rural areas have been estimated to have increased by 3.1 percent in population.[2]

The metropolitan areas of the South have continued to grow, but the growth has been slight in the central cities. The Southern metro areas which are included in the top 50 in the nation, have experienced the following changes as of July 1, 1972 as shown in Table 1.

White exodus to the suburbs is now more evident than ever, even in the newly emerged metropolitan areas of the South. In the South, with the exceptions of Mississippi, West Virginia, and Arkansas, in all of the Southern states more than 35 percent of the population resides in SMSA's. As of 1970, the percent of population in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas is estimated as 56 percent.[3] (See Table 2). The state with the greatest proportion of metropolitan residents is Maryland; the state with the least is Mississippi.

In most of the central cities of the metropolitan areas the white

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1 U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: Number of Inhabitants, 1970 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1970), pp. 41-42.

2 U. S. Bureau of the Census, Population Estimates and Projections, Series P-25; "Estimates of the Population of the United States to April 1, 1972." For Sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402.

3 U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population and Housing: General Demographic Trends for Metropolitan Areas 1960 to 1970 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1970), p. 5.

TABLE 1

PERCENT POPULATION CHANGE IN METROPOLITAN AREAS, 1970-1973

Metro Areas	Ranked Nationally 1970	Percent Change 1970-1973	Ranked Nationally 1973
Washington	8	3.1	8
Dallas-Fort Worth	12	2.8	10
Baltimore	13	2.6	13
Houston	16	6.1	14
Atlanta	18	5.5	18
Miami	26	5.0	25
Tampa-St. Petersburg	30	9.2	28
New Orleans	32	2.9	32
San Antonio	37	5.3	37
Louisville	38	2.3	38
Memphis	40	1.7	41
Birmingham	46	1.5	47
Winston-Salem-Greensboro-High Point	49	2.9	49

Source: Estimates by USN and WR Economic Unit, based on partial census figures. U. S. News and World Report, October 8, 1973, p. 72.

TABLE 2

PERCENT OF POPULATION IN SMSA'S
BY STATES: 1970

State	Percent	State	Percent
Texas	73.5	West Virginia	31.3
Arkansas	30.9	Georgia	49.7
Oklahoma	50.1	Florida	68.6
Louisiana	54.8	South Carolina	39.3
Mississippi	17.7	North Carolina	37.3
Alabama	52.3	Virginia	61.2
Tennessee	48.9	District of Columbia	100.0
Kentucky	40.0	Maryland	84.3
		Delaware	70.4
		South	56.0

Source: Current study and Table I, U. S. Summary; PHC (2) - 1, 1970.

population is rapidly being surpassed numerically by the blacks. Among cities with high proportions of blacks are: Washington 71.1 black, Richmond 42.0, Savannah, Georgia 45.0, Durham, North Carolina 39.0, Pine Bluff, Arkansas 42.0, Atlanta 51.3, Birmingham 42.0, New Orleans 45.0, Jackson, Mississippi 39.7, Augusta, Georgia 50.0. Change of the black metropolitan population in the 1960-1970 interim for the South Atlantic was 23.1 percent, East South Central 6.0 percent, and West South Central 21.5 percent. The percent change in the same decade for central

cities was South Atlantic 22.8 percent, East South Central 12.6 percent, and West South Central 28.0 percent. As a result of these trends the states that have had the highest black percent changes inside metropolitan cities are respectively Maryland, Oklahoma, Texas, and the District of Columbia. The District of Columbia and the State of Florida have had the highest percent of changes outside central cities, applying to the black population.

States which have undergone the highest percent changes in the white population inside central cities from 1960 to 1970 have been, Florida 23.0, Tennessee 18.7 and Louisiana 18.4. In the South Atlantic, Maryland, the District of Columbia, and Delaware, all have experienced major losses of the white population in central cities.

Metropolitan ring and suburban growth has been evident in all of the subregions of the South. This is contrary to the national trend that occurred in the 1940's when city growth overwhelmingly surpassed metro ring growth. In the 1960-1970 period, metro ring and suburban growth had been highest in Florida 89.2, Georgia 57.2, Virginia 71.2, Maryland 132.6, Delaware 78.3, and Texas 60.7. Table 3 presents a comparison of the metro and nonmetro growth during the 1960-1970 decade. Florida had the highest percentage of growth for both metro and nonmetro population since 1960.

During the 1960-1970 decade a 22 percent metropolitan growth in the South was greater than United States metropolitan growth. The 1970 Census showed from 1960 to 1970 the central cities of the South annexed a population of 1.3 million persons. This criterion accounts for most

TABLE 3

PERCENT OF CHANGE IN METROPOLITAN AND NONMETROPOLITAN STATES' POPULATION: 1960-1970

State	Metro Growth	Nonmetro Growth
Maryland	29.7	11.8
Delaware	25.5	16.9
District of Columbia	-1.0	
West Virginia	-5.2	-6.7
Virginia	28.4	3.0
North Carolina	23.8	5.3
South Carolina	19.4	2.8
Georgia	25.7	8.5
Kentucky	14.1	1.1
Tennessee	13.0	7.2
Florida	37.2	37.0
Alabama	6.5	4.2
Louisiana	14.0	9.2
Mississippi	15.4	
Arkansas	14.3	4.9
Oklahoma	19.9	1.4
Texas	23.7	1.3

Source: U. S. Summary; Number of Inhabitants, PC (1) -A1, 1970, page 35.

of the central city reported growth. Texas contains the largest central city population with 5.4 million persons, which is estimated as 30 percent of the South's central city residents. Cities which have had noticeable losses of central city population are Wilmington, Baltimore, Washington, and the central cities of West Virginia. In both Maryland and Northern Virginia, suburban growth was affected profoundly by their congruency with the Washington SMSA. Altogether rates of growth have been twice as fast for central cities and six times faster for rings in the South as contrasted with the nation.[1]

Migration Trends

A general evaluation of the national statistic's has shown that approximately 75 percent of the United States population is now considered as urban. Within the period 1920 to 1959 the net migration from farms was estimated at 27 million.[2] The Southern farm population represented 7 percent of the nation's total, and as of 1970 farm population in the United States has been estimated to be approximately 5 percent of the nation's total population.

Since 1945, urban growth in the South has been contingent to economic industrial growth, productivity due to regional planning, and interracial

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1 U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population and Housing. General Demographic Trends for Metropolitan Areas, 1960 to 1970 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1970), p. 4.

2 U. S. Bureau of the Census, People of Rural America, by Dale E. Hathaway, J. Allen Beegle, and W. Keith Bryant (A 1960 Census Monograph). U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1968, pp. 85-87.

relations. Suburbanization and the continuous appearance and growth of satellite cities have been some new attributes of urban growth within the last decade. In SMSA's, the expansion of residential communities has created a continuous decentralization toward the rural-urban fringe area. This area is experiencing a fluid growth in most of the metro areas.

In many of the metro cities of the South the black population is currently occupying areas of the working and residential concentric zones. The process of successive evasion has been prompted the last fifteen years by the dissipation of the caste system, and by the development of assimilation as the outcome of an open class system. In Richmond, Atlanta, Dallas, Washington, as well as other southern cities, there have been explicit movements of blacks and other minorities toward suburbia. The establishment of a middle class residential community of the black population is now evident in all of the metropolitan areas of the Southwest and Southeast. In Atlanta successive evasion and the mobilization of the black population has taken major proportions since 1969. In any event, the cities of the South, with the exception of Dallas, Houston, and Miami, are not confronted with the multiracial conflict which has existed in the Northeast and Mideast. During the 1950-1960 decade, 70 percent of the metropolitan cities in the South had enormous increases in non-white population. The Southern rural black population that had been replacing the white population in the cities outside of the South, may have been increasingly migrating within the sub-regions of the South. Within the last decade there has been a noticeable residential mobility of blacks from the metropolitan districts of the

Northeast who are now migrating into the South. However, a recent phenomenon has been a decline in migration from rural areas to central cities. These trends are contrary to the 1940-1950 outmigration from the South into the cities of the Northeast, North Central, and West. Within the South satellite cities have experienced growth due to the industrial concentration which has been induced by residential growth. Manufacture and service corporations have pursued the population to the suburbs.

While migration prior to World War II, especially in the 1930-1940 decade, had been of a selective nature, due to the changing socio-economic factors migration since 1945 has been much less selective. The magnitude of mobilization since 1970 has indicated recurrent patterns from metropolitan areas to other metropolitan areas within or outside the South. Prior to 1970, while local movement and rural to urban migration had been characteristic of blacks, long distance migration involved whites and middle or upper class families. However, the blacks who migrated did so in long distances toward the North and West, but often making intermediate stops into the smaller cities. Local movement has considerably increased within the metropolitan area, while rural to urban migration has recently shown decreasing uniformities within such states as Florida, Georgia, Virginia, Delaware, and Maryland.

Demographic studies that have been conducted by Bogue and Hagood for the period of 1935 to 1940, indicated that migration was selective

of the better educated of the rural farm population.[1] Migration that occurred from the Cotton Belt area has shown unequivocal high rates for the better educated but also the least well educated. On the national level migration that occurred within the 1940-1950 decade was in accord with lower levels of education, and it had been found in the population that had completed more than five years of school. The most obvious indicant for migration in the 1930-1950 interim was the massive mobilization of blacks toward the nearest urban cities outside the South and eventually toward the metropolitan and urbanized areas.

Fertility Trends

The Southeast has contained the least foreign born and most of the blacks compared with the nation's total population. The factors of age at marriage and color have been highly correlated with fertility within the South.[2] The rural areas had higher fertility rates especially among the rural-farm population; however, rurality is centrifugaly diminished within some states. At any given level of education and income within a specified occupational group of husbands, the number of children ever born per 1,000 women had been fewer for those married at age 22 or over than for those married at earlier ages.[3] In both 1960 and 1970, the

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1 U. S. Bureau of the Census, People of the United States in the 20th Century, by Irene B. Taeuber and Conrad Taeuber (A Census Monograph), U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1971, pp. 750-753.

2 Ibid., pp. 443-446.

3 Ibid., pp. 448-450.

major distinctions in fertility were between women who had married men in professional, technical, and clerical occupations and those who had married operatives, laborers, or farmers.[1] Within all sub-regions of the South from 1950 to 1960, in general and within occupational groups fertility rose with advancing educational levels. Within an educational level in an occupational group, fertility tended to rise with advancing income. Since 1960, this same pattern has been evident within the metropolitan ring. In lower or middle income levels fertility was limited more severely among the higher educated women who had married at younger ages. At higher income levels fertility advanced as educational levels moved upward. The proportion of nonwhite women aged 35 to 44 that lived with the husband of their first marriage was far less than that of the white women.[2] Other characteristics for these nonwhite women were, lower educational levels, occupational distributions correspondent with manual activities, and a declining income level. The fertility of the nonwhite women is higher than that of white women, although the gap narrows with the advancing education and the higher status of the occupations of husbands of blacks. Within urban areas the differences in the fertility of white and nonwhite women are also associated with marital status, education, occupation, and income rather than with ethnic group, color, or culture as separable factors. The complex of

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1 U. S. Bureau of the Census, People of the United States in the 20th Century, by Irene B. Taeuber and Conrad Taeuber (A Census Monograph). U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1971, p. 451.

2 Ibid.

personal and community relations associated with age at marriage, marriage disruption, and the changeability of occupation is basic. In 1960, the historic relations of fertility to the agricultural and the immigrant heritages were eradicated a great deal. The South had witnessed a minute influx of immigrant population, and fertility rates among the immigrants changed drastically toward a downward trend; except for the migrant workers of Puerto Rican, Mexican, and Jamaican heritage. The fertility of women was declining in all the Southern States from 1910 to 1940, and increasing from 1940 almost to 1960.[1] A peak was reached at 1957, other than the "baby boom," and then a decrease begun to occur once more circa 1965. In general, fertility in the urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm populations inside the SMSA's was lower than that of the comparable populations outside them. Inside as well as outside SMSA's fertility was lowest in urban areas, intermediate in rural-nonfarm areas, and highest in rural-farm areas. There were close relations between the level of the fertility and the ratio of nonwhite women in the early decades of the century. These relations declined over time, presumably as a result of the dispersion of the nonwhite women from the South and within the subregions of the South toward urban places. Transitions in metropolitan living have been salient factors in the changes from the old to the newer patterns of relations between fertility and other demographic, economic, and social variables. Associations of fertility with the characteristics of the metropolitan and

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[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census, People of the United States in the 20th Century, by Irene B. Taeuber and Conrad Taeuber (A Census Monograph). U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1971, pp. 444-445.

newly emerged urban places populations that differ for age groups of women, suggest changes within the metropolitan or urban population itself.

Mortality Trends

Relevant to the characteristics of mortality, death rates have remained higher in the large cities than outside them. The mortality of the black population has been invariably higher than that of the white population, particularly in the large metropolitan cities. The average length of life in 1965 was 70.2 years for the total population. It was 66.8 years for males and 73.7 years for females, a deficit of 6.9 years for males.[1] For the white population it was 71.0 years and for the nonwhite population 64.1 years, a deficit of 6.9 years for the nonwhite population.[2] In 1965, differences between the sexes in all of the Southern states were as great as those between the color groups. However, there have been substantial fluctuations and there appear deficiencies in the statistics due to the paucity of data. The states of the Southwest with their Indian and Mexican minorities have reported high mortality rates. Although, the differences in the expectation of life at birth for males and females, whites and nonwhites, suggest the perpetuation of major inequalities in health opportunities and environmental conditions, particularly in such states as Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama,

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1 U. S. Bureau of the Census, People of the United States in the 20th Century, by Irene B. Taeuber and Conrad Taeuber (A Census Monograph). U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1971, pp. 497-498.

2 Ibid.

and South Carolina as pertaining to blacks, metro areas record minor discrepancies and major reductions in mortality rates. In the 1960-1970 period the associations of higher mortality and greater rurality remained in the Appalachian States and South Carolina. The associations of higher mortality with the presence of sub-cultural and ethnic minorities continued in the states of the Southwest where Spanish origin and Indian groups were concentrated. Metro counties that have undergone extensive urbanization since 1960, have experienced a decline in infant mortality rates of whites and blacks; mainly due to the rise of the socioeconomic level and improvements of cultural deprivation. Nevertheless, mortality rates since 1961 have been not profoundly but gradually decreasing. The East South Central region had the highest rate of mortality in the nation pending the 1959-1961 period. Rates have declined within all metropolitan areas of the South, where patterns of mortality still present a salient problem.

Growth of Small Urban Places

As of 1970, the South reportedly contains the largest central city population of any region, and also the nation's largest nonmetropolitan population. Although the growth of the South's nonmetropolitan areas has been 6 percent, there has been a noticeable growth in the number of small places in some of the States. Conceivably the natural increase of the nonmetropolitan population is still being curtailed by outmigration toward metropolitan areas. Metropolitan suburban growth has accounted for most of the urban growth that has occurred since 1960. Most of this suburban growth is attributed to satellite cities and the growth of small

urban places, which is frequently obscured or overlooked due to the amalgamation with larger cities (Mainly because of annexation), and due to the rapidity of growth in urbanized areas.

In Table 4, the differential growth by state that has occurred since 1960 reflects urban growth.

Except for the District of Columbia, the rest of the states have witnessed major urban growth, while West Virginia has experienced a continuous reduction in total population since 1950. In examining urban growth in terms of metropolitan and urbanized area percent of change, many of the small urban places of 2,500 or more are disregarded or not evaluated as they should be. A tabulation of places with population of 2,500 to 5,000; 10,000 to 25,000; and 25,000 to 50,000 is presented in Table 5.

The State of Texas surpasses all other Southern states in number and population of places of 2,500 to 50,000. Nevertheless, the region of South Atlantic engenders the greatest amount of places of 2,500 to 50,000 and the largest amount of population of small urban places. For further comparative analysis with regard to 1960-1970 growth of places below a 50,000 population, Table 6 shows overall percent changes by size of place.

In observing Table 6, it is apparent that as the size of place increases the number of places decreases. There had been an excess of places of 2,500 to 5,000 population in 1960, which implies that a number of these places were absorbed by other places through amalgamation, or they disappeared due to annexation, a change in the name of the place,

TABLE 4

PERCENT OF CHANGE IN URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION: 1960-1970

State	Urban Change	Rural Change	Total
Delaware	35.0	-0.0	22.8
Maryland	33.2	8.2	26.5
District of Columbia	-1.0	0.0	-1.0
Virginia	33.3	-2.0	17.2
West Virginia	-4.0	-7.0	-6.2
North Carolina	26.2	1.0	11.5
South Carolina	25.1	-3.2	8.7
Kentucky	24.5	-8.2	5.9
Tennessee	23.2	-4.4	10.0
Georgia	27.0	3.5	16.4
Alabama	12.0	-2.0	5.4
Florida	49.1	2.2	37.1
Louisiana	16.3	3.0	11.8
Mississippi	20.3	-9.0	1.8
Arkansas	25.0	-5.6	7.7
Oklahoma	18.4	-5.2	9.9
Texas	24.3	-4.3	16.9
Total	26.1	-2.9	14.2

Source: Table 9 and Table 18 (PC(1)-1A), United States Summary.

TABLE 5

POPULATION BY SIZE OF PLACE: 1970

State	Places of 2,500-5,000 Number	Population	Places of 5,000-10,000 Number	Population	Places of 10,000-25,000 Number	Population	Places of 25,000-50,000 Number	Population	Total Number	Population
Delaware	4	14,264	6	41,812	3	48,379			13	104,455
Maryland	19	66,290	49	365,216	36	568,284	14	462,524	118	1,462,314
District of Columbia										
Virginia	26	93,276	34	235,272	30	448,390	6	199,646	96	976,584
West Virginia	26	90,919	12	83,880	8	131,093	5	175,051	51	480,943
North Carolina	61	211,731	34	232,427	24	367,277	11	392,119	130	1,203,554
South Carolina	44	146,942	35	251,751	14	193,770	4	131,945	97	724,330
Georgia	76	269,206	32	224,315	26	406,798	7	234,921	141	1,135,240
Florida	105	367,942	93	651,770	56	887,481	17	580,901	271	2,448,094
Kentucky	44	150,522	28	189,882	21	320,885	6	189,297	99	850,586
Tennessee	42	148,850	31	215,117	22	329,431	6	192,102	101	885,500
Alabama	47	160,089	41	285,996	21	307,184	8	268,007	117	1,021,276
Mississippi	36	116,983	23	167,893	15	232,272	8	290,822	82	807,970
Arkansas	33	116,773	19	134,325	16	232,598	5	144,585	73	628,281
Louisiana	42	157,620	33	236,146	24	372,877	6	203,094	105	969,737
Oklahoma	43	147,539	27	194,794	18	295,022	8	268,410	96	905,765
Texas	152	524,057	95	664,635	80	1,201,625	19	664,063	346	3,054,380
Total	800	2,782,925	592	4,175,231	414	6,343,366	130	4,397,487	1,936	17,699,009

Source: Current Study, and U. S. Bureau of the Census, PC(1)-A1; U. S. Summary.

TABLE 6

OVERALL PERCENT CHANGES BY SIZE OF PLACE, 1960-1970

Size of Place	1960 Number	1960 Population	1970 Number	1970 Population	1960-1970 Percent Change Number	1960-1970 Percent Change Population
2,500 to 5,000	732	2,581,313	800	2,782,925	9.3	7.8
5,000 to 10,000	427	2,986,658	592	4,175,231	38.6	39.8
10,000 to 25,000	302	4,613,543	414	6,343,366	37.1	37.5
25,000 to 50,000	98	3,332,871	130	4,397,487	32.7	31.9
Total	1,559	13,514,383	1,936	17,699,009	24.2	30.9

Source: Current Study.

or outmigration. There is a high correlation in the percent changes of places with the population during the sixties. This is especially true for places of 10,000 to 25,000 population, which observe a percent change from 1960 to 1970 almost equal.

Other states containing most of the places of a 50,000 or less population are respectively Florida, Georgia, and North Carolina. In the South, the overall urban population as of 1970 is estimated at places of a 50,000 population or under to be 43.6 percent of the total urban population that is found in the South. In places of 5,000 to 10,000 and 2,500 to 5,000 population, it is interesting that predominately rural states such as Alabama, South Carolina, Louisiana and Tennessee, contain a high number of such urban places.

Since 1960, places of 5,000 to 10,000 population have had the greatest numerical increase and also the second highest increase of population. Places of 10,000 to 25,000 have experienced the greatest amount of population increase. The majority of these places are to be found within the states of Texas and Florida. Places of 2,500 to 50,000 population are 50.2 percent of the metro population and 64.1 percent of the nonmetro population in the South as of 1970. This is parallel to the 1960 enumeration when places of 2,500 to 50,000 population were 46.8 percent of the metro population and 51.7 percent of the nonmetro.

Summary

Since 1950, the Coastal Plain and the Central Lowlands areas have undergone most of the urban growth, along with the states of Florida and Maryland. As of 1960 most of the rural growth has been in the states of Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Maryland. However, recent metro growth has appraised the standard of living, and has demeaned the previous detrimental impact of cultural lag that existed in many areas,

Through the impetus of centralization neighborhood mills augmented into manufacturing towns and enlarged cities, which subsequently emerged as large urbanized areas. In view of the consequential process of urbanization it is apparent that quantative changes that have occurred within urban places, mainly in the suburbs, have created a plethora of qualitative structural alterations in all facets of the social environment. Recently evolved urban cities have been the result of growth of satellite cities, university towns, military bases, manufacturing centers, and the temporal population increase within the rural communities.

New concepts and methods for expansion that have been employed by new urban places, have indicated the conflictual but contemporary criteria of specialization, interdependence, and annexation. In the states of Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, and Texas, military installations were a salient contributor to the South's reconstruction era. The impregnation of new urban places with technocratic industrial orientation and materialism, is gradually implementing changes in the institutions of policy, economics, and education. Urban growth has exacerbated primarily in the metropolitan ring, but since 1960 there have been numerous nonmetro places which have become redefined as urban; especially in the states of Florida, Maryland, and Texas.

Rapid urbanization and suburbanization have crucially affected the life styles and residential patterns in metro areas. Cities of the South are currently experiencing a similar process of successive evasion as the one witnessed by cities outside of the South as early as 1930.

In metro and nonmetro areas industrialization has moderately cultivated urbanization. As of 1950, Southern cities have begun to show a conglameration of industrial and residential expansion. This expansion is eventually supplemented by institutional enrichment. The transitional stage of urbanization that had existed hitherto, gradually reached a new magnitude of stabilization in all subregions of the South, and has reinforced the additional growth of small urgan or rural places.

In the subsequent chapter the universal framework of small urban places is elaborated in order to, (1) collectively examine their growth in relation to the trends of metro and nonmetro growth in the South,

(2) to provide a rationale for the study of small urban places.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

Theoretical Framework

Since 1960, although there has been an accelerating growth of metropolitan areas, small cities and towns have been able to retain a much greater proportion of their population than before. This retention and growth has contributed in a number of states within the South to urban growth of both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas. Relevant to the delimitations of the subregions and the metro areas, it must be noted that metropolitan boundaries are not necessarily permanent.

Numerous metropolitan areas have been redefined because of the process of urban expansion, as witnessed by the formation of megalopoles. This has led to inconsistencies in the definitions of areas from one census period to another. The states of Maryland, Delaware, District of Columbia, Arkansas, and Oklahoma, which are technically defined as constituents of the Southern regions by the Census Bureau, are occasionally considered as non-southern states.

City growth in the South has been and remains the result of annexation and immigration. High fertility rates in rural communities have provided immigrants to the cities, particularly youth and the working population. This was especially evident for the rural population in the 1950-1968 period. Continuous rural-urban migration has been an impetus for city growth in the South. An array of diverse perplexities in the socioeconomic characteristics, age structure, residential patterns, and

life styles, are the outcome of physical annexation, relative territorial structures, representative base economies, industrial expansions, normative cultures, and a diversity in the demographic trends of the population.

Economic planning within rural places has been contigent to the eradication of a subsistence agricultural production. Contemporary cultural diffusion has provided for the importation of capital and knowledge, and it has been integral to the recent urban growth. Size of place is frequently seen to be inversely related to distance from larger cities. As the white and to a certain degree the black population abandons the central cities and proceeds toward the suburbs, many of the rural nonmetropolitan and the small metropolitan places usually acquire much of this population.

Substantial urban growth characterizes the urban fringe and rural areas adjacent to all of the metro areas in the South; especially in the South Atlantic region. Through the process of decentralization small places in metro and nonmetro areas may experience decennial growth, or they may be absorbed by adjacent cities which are experiencing metro growth.

Other than the process of annexation, the essential growth of the central cities is attributed to the replenishment of the black population, the zoning of the business districts, and interstate highway constructions. Recent trends of urban growth in small places are different from trends that existed previous to 1950, where small towns and rural as well as urban places were the victims of enormous losses in total

population to large cities.

Rural communities, towns, and cities suffered a depletion of labor force and a stagnation of business growth prior to 1960. As an example using a large well-urban city, New Orleans, which once was renoun as one of the largest commercial and trade exchange nuclei in the Nation, reported an average income lower than in any other large southern city. Cities in the Coastal Plain have grown to metro proportions and subsequently into urbanized areas.

Megalopoles have appeared on the border states of Maryland, Delaware, District of Columbia, and Northern Virginia. These states are characterized by interdependency, specialization, and spatial as well as residential mobility. Cities to be found on the Eastern Sea Board of these states, were incorporated into the Atlantic megalopolis belt, which extends from Boston, Mass, to Norfolk, Virginia. Subsequently these and other strip cities and urbanized areas which have appeared further South and in the state of Texas, have attracted such importance that the growth of small metro and nonmetro places has been slight.

Urbanization in the South West Central region has been implemented by a surplus of labor and technology, and by the importation of early managerial knowledge in the post-World War II years. In the South West Central there existed numerous subsidiaries in the cities of Dallas, Fort Worth, Houston, Laredo, and Tulsa, as early as 1945. The zone areas that pervade the subregions of the South, contain rural and urban population that is diversified and differ from one zone area to another.

Since 1945, in the South Central region there has been sporadic and

limited urban growth. Regarding the diversifications of the rural and urban population, it is apparent that smaller urban places essentially have urban characteristics. A small nonmetro urban place characteristically will relate much more to a metro area rather than the rural surrounding county in which it is located. When an evaluation of urban population is made, it should be concluded that a large proportion of persons in places of 2,500 to 50,000 in metro or nonmetro areas is also considered urban. Regardless of the obscurity of many small urban places, in many instances they are the foundations or direct causes for urban growth and expansion.

Nonmetro growth in the United States is now greater than metro,[1] and although preponderous metro growth in the South during the 1960-1970 decade has diverted demographic studies away from small urban places, these places are evident and experiencing or contributing to regional urban growth.

People in the states that have undergone the greatest amount of urbanization since 1960, frequently express desires to live in small towns and remain within small urban places; according to several recent Gallup polls.

Metro growth and Expansion which has occurred in all of the metro areas of the South, have hastened county urban growth and expansion of small places within these counties. Most of the metro counties in the states of Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, and Virginia, have

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[1] "End of Rush to America's Big Cities," U. S. News and World Report, 8 October, 1973, p. 72.

had unprecedented urban growth since 1950. In the 1960 to 1970 interim small urban places accounted for most of the county percent growth in population. There had been 794 counties in the South which experienced growth increases in total population.

Theoretical Propositions

Even though on the national level metropolitan areas were subject to small density decreases over the 1960-1970 period, metro central cities experienced a massive decentralization of population. In almost all of the Southern states both central city and metro ring growth has continued since 1960.

It is conceivable that central city deconcentration may have contributed not only to metro ring urban growth, but also to metro ring rural growth and nonmetro urban growth. At this point it is assumed that most of the metro and nonmetro urban growth of small places since 1960 should have occurred in the state of Florida. The postulations relevant to this research are as follows:

(1) States which have undergone the greatest proportionate increases in urban growth are those states with a proportionately greater increase in the number of places defined as urban.

(2) Most newly appearing urban places should be found in metropolitan counties of nonmetropolitan counties adjacent to SMSA's.

(3) States undergoing the greatest proportionate urban growth

not only will experience the appearance of metropolitan places but nonmetropolitan as well.

(4) Given that higher fertility rates exist in the nonmetro areas and the outmigration from these areas is declining, in states which rapid urbanization is evident, the differential rates of growth which have existed between metro and nonmetro areas should have declined.

Increases of growth should also have occurred in the metro ring rural areas to the point that the rates of growth presumably will approach a level of equality in metro and nonmetro areas even more in the 1970-1980 decade. This applies primarily to the region of South Atlantic and the state of Texas. Overall the South has experienced consistently high metro growth since 1950, and it can be postulated that concerning the urban growth of places with population of 2,500 to 5,000, metro ring growth has continued at even higher rates than before 1960.

Methodology

Considering that the purpose of this thesis is to reveal and analyze the recent urban growth of small places, the study is concerned with the discovery and classification of urban places which are found as of 1970. Furthermore, an examination of county urban growth is relevant to the overall metro and nonmetro urban growth, especially for the places which have become urban in 1970 and data on these places may be scarce because they were completely non-existent in 1960.

Due to the massive suburbanization, a nominal classification of

urban places has been advanced by the Census Bureau. In previous years the Census defined as "urban" any incorporated place of 2,500 population or more. As of 1950, the definition has been altered to include incorporated and unincorporated places of 2,500 or more people. This is a vast and a quite minimum requirement for any place in an official urban classification. In this study the recently appearing urban places are studied according to their total population and metro as well as nonmetro status.

Through the utilization of the 1970 U. S. Summary, Number of Inhabitants,[1] tabulations have been made using the 1970 enumeration as the base data.

In the procedure that follows, a list of places defined as urban in 1970 but not in 1960 was tabulated by state. Some of these places were new, that is, no indication of their physical existence could be found for 1960. They are defined as entirely "new places." Others were not new since in several instances a 1960 population could be ascertained from the individual state volume Number of Inhabitants in 1960.[2] The latter instance essentially represents the growth of a rural place to the extent that it meets the minimum Census requirement for urban.

Moreover, the metropolitan or nonmetropolitan status of each place

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1 U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: Number of Inhabitants, 1970 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1970).

2 U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: Number of Inhabitants, 1960 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1960).

was determined according to whether it was found in an SMSA county. The 1970 population of each place was tabulated and also the 1960 population if there existed one. Populations for both 1970 and 1960 were summed to yield state, divisional and regional totals.

Although, not the primary purpose of this thesis, further analysis of data shows counties which have undergone significant urban growth in the 1960-1970 decade, and associated factors which have induced urban growth, such as an examination of socioeconomic characteristics and the endemic territorial expansion.

While phenomenal metro increases usually indicate metro ring redistribution of the population, new urban places are now affecting metro ring annexation and rural-urban fringe growth. An examination of counties which contained new urban places as of 1970, was conducted in the states' individual maps, so that comparisons and distinctions between metro and nonmetro growth could be made.

Due to the continuous urban growth that has occurred overall in the South in the 1960-1970 intercencal period, it is my intention to show in the following chapter that in certain states much of the urban growth, both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan, is the result of newly emerging urban places. A number of these places are entirely new, that is did not exist in the 1960 Census enumeration, and are as important for overall urban growth.

In the region of South Atlantic new small urban places are increasingly becoming the primary reason for urban growth. It is imperative to realize that certain places which did exist in 1960 may have revised

their name, or may have lost previous identity as they altered their status from unincorporated to incorporated.

The next chapter presents the analysis of data gathered on the file of places newly defined as urban. In addition to examining the postulates outlined in this chapter, an evaluation of the overall growth contributions of these places is also presented; mainly on a county level.

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS

Places Entering the Urban Classification

As indicated previously, in the United States from 1970 to 1972, small nonmetro towns and rural areas increased in population by 3.1 percent, against a 2.2 percent increase for metro areas. As the impact of small town growth becomes more apparent on the national level, in the South there has been a considerable amount of growth of new small urban places.

In the three Southern regions there were 506 metro and nonmetro places which entered the urban classification as of 1970. All of these places, whether existent or entirely non-existent[1] in 1960, had obtained a population of 2,500 or more and were therefore defined as urban in 1970. Due to the enumeration of military installations, as places in 1970, the following method was devised to control for their appearance in the file of places. All military installations are accounted for within the data on counties; however, in the actual enumeration of places and population, as in Tables 8, 9 and 10 certain installations are omitted. The installations of Camp Lejeune Central and Fort Bragg, North Carolina; Fort Benning, Georgia; Fort Knox, Kentucky; Fort Sill, Oklahoma; and Fort Hood, Texas; have been verified as being urban and existent in

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[1] The term "entirely non-existent" in this study is used in reference to places that were completely and physically non-existent in the 1960 Bureau of the Census enumeration.

1960; thus they are controlled for and have not been accumulated in the enumeration. Table 7 presents a tabulation of military installations that are included in the data analysis by state.

During the 1960-1970 decade some of the current urban places merged with neighborhood cities or small towns, and others became redefined because of annexation or population growth; a case in point is the City of Metairie, Louisiana. Metairie is located in Jefferson County of the New Orleans SMSA and while it is listed as a newly emerged urban place, it entails a population estimated at 135,816. In Table 8 an enumeration of new urban places is presented by state; also, the percent that new places represent of the total urban population in each state is indicated in the table.

The total urban population of 1970 for all three regions in the South is estimated at 40,539,961, from which 3,650,800 or nine percent was attributed to the new urban places. Only 251, or one half, of all the newly emerged urban places actually existed as rural places in 1960 and were subsequently redefined as urban.

The states that accounted for most of the new urban places are respectively: Florida, Maryland, Texas, and Virginia. The state which had the highest percent of the urban population in 1970 attributed to new urban places was Maryland. The South Atlantic was subject to the greatest urban growth due to the new urban places. The East South Central contained 82 newly emerged urban places, while the West South Central had 105 places and the South Atlantic 319 new urban places. The proportion of new places which did not exist at all in 1960, was respectively in

TABLE 7

SPECIFIC MILITARY INSTALLATIONS, 1970

State	Name of Place	1970 Population
Virginia:	Fort Belvoir	14,591
	Fort Hunt	10,415
	Fort Lee	12,435
North Carolina:	Camp Lejeune Central	34,549
	Fort Bragg	46,995
South Carolina:	Parris Island	8,868
Georgia:	Fort Benning	27,495
	Fort Gordon	15,589
	Fort Stewart	4,467
Kentucky:	Fort Knox	37,608
	Fort Campbell North	13,616
Alabama:	Fort McClellan	5,334
	Fort Rucker	14,242
Oklahoma:	Fort Sill	21,217
Texas:	Fort Bliss	13,288
	Fort Hood	32,597
	Fort Wolters	3,743
	Fort Sam Houston	10,553
Total	18	327,602

Source: Current Study, and PC(1)-A1, U. S. Summary, Number of Inhabitants, 1970. Table 31

TABLE 8

PROPORTION OF URBAN GROWTH ATTRIBUTABLE TO NEW URBAN PLACES: 1970

State	Number of New Places 1970	Urban Population of State 1970	1970 Overall Percent of Urban Population
Delaware	5	395,569	8.9
Maryland	65	3,003,935	24.2
Virginia	37	2,934,841	24.1
West Virginia	3	679,491	1.3
North Carolina	26	2,285,168	5.0
South Carolina	30	1,223,195	13.0
Georgia	30	2,768,074	3.8
Florida	123	5,468,137	13.8
Kentucky	20	1,684,053	5.8
Tennessee	28	2,305,307	5.4
Alabama	17	2,011,941	4.8
Mississippi	17	986,642	5.7
Arkansas	13	960,865	5.0
Louisiana	16	2,406,150	11.6
Oklahoma	15	1,740,137	3.5
Texas	61	8,920,946	2.9
The South	506	40,539,961	9.0

Source: Current Study, and U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1970. PC(1)-1A Number of Inhabitants. United States Summary, Table 16.

the states of Florida, Maryland, and Virginia. (Table 13).

For the purpose of a general evaluation of the correlations between the urban percent increase in the population of each state and the increase in the number of places, Table 9 presents the percent increase of urban population in rank order for the Southern states. As the percent of the urban population decreases, the corresponding parallel percent of new urban places should becrease also proportionately. For Table 9, a correlation of +.73 (Pearson r) was obtained between percent increase in urban population and percent increase in number of urban places, for the enture South. This is another indication of the significance of new urban places as compared with the overall urban population increase during the Sixties in the South.

Maryland although it was expected to experience a high percent of increase of new urban places as it did by 98 percent, this increase is not highly correlated with the urban percent increase for the entire state, and therefore these new urban places could be the direct results of metro annexation and redistribution of the population and metro ring, especially on the North West division of the Washington SMSA and Baltimore. In states other than Maryland, growth of new urban places has been more equilaterally distributed between metro and nonmetro areas, than it has been in Maryland.

Further south in the more agrarian states such as Tennessee, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Alabama, and to a certain degree Texas, the present increase in the number of places is highly correlated with the total percent increase of the urban population. These states have

TABLE 9

PERCENT URBAN INCREASE AND INCREASE IN NUMBER OF PLACES DEFINED AS URBAN: RANKED BY SOUTHERN STATES: 1960-1970

State	Percent Increase In Urban Population (By Rank)	Number of Urban Places 1960	New Urban Places	Percent Increase In Number of Places
Florida	49.3	179	123	68.8
Delaware	35.2	10	5	50.0
Maryland	33.2	66	65	98.0
Virginia	33.1	76	38	50.0
Georgia	27.0	124	30	24.2
North Carolina	26.8	125	26	21.0
South Carolina	25.7	76	30	39.4
Arkansas	25.6	66	13	19.7
Kentucky	24.4	88	20	22.6
Texas	24.1	320	61	19.1
Tennessee	23.6	94	28	29.7
Mississippi	20.3	70	17	24.3
Oklahoma	18.8	89	15	16.9
Louisiana	16.8	101	16	15.8
Alabama	12.3	109	17	15.6
West Virginia	-4.0	56	3	5.4
The South	26.1	1,649	506	30.7

Source: Current Study, and U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1970. PC(1)-1A Number of Inhabitants. United States Summary, Table 4.

undergone minor increases in urban growth from 1960 to 1970, and the amount of increase of places is slight. An extremely close relation exists in Louisiana in the percent growth of an actual urban increase of 16.8 with the number of places, which is almost entirely due to the increase of new urban places. Another unusual relation among the increase of urban population and the increase in the number of places is found in South Carolina, where there has been a rather large percent increase in new urban places in comparison with limited growth in the overall urban population.

In the sixties, although West Virginia experienced an increase in the number of urban places, it has encountered a loss of urban population. It can be assumed that this loss is the result of outmigration, in all probability outmigration from urban places to metro places outside of the state. Other state trends that may be considered, such as for Louisiana, involve possible decreases of the metro birth rates, and extensive amounts of annexation; especially in the New Orleans SMSA. The probability of a decrease in birth rate and increase in net outmigration, are also quite possible for nonmetro Maryland. It should be considered that almost two-thirds of the urban growth in Maryland occurred in places in the Washington and Baltimore SMSA's. In both of the SMSA's there has been a considerable amount of spatial expansion and suburbanization over the 1960-1970 decade.

In Florida the number of urban places almost doubled from 1960 to 1970, and the percent increase in the number of places caused by new urban places as of 1970, has surpassed the rate of increase in the number

of places in the 1950-1960 decade, but the overall percentage growth of urban population in the 1960-1970 decade has dropped by approximately 50 percent. This also means that Florida is undergoing an extensive amount of annexation, particularly in the South eastern section and the Tampa-St. Petersburg Urbanized Areas. Texas experienced a limited urban growth in the sixties. Moreover, the relation between total urban population growth and percent increase of the number of places over the 1960-1970 period is positive.

Since in some of the Southern states the percent of total urban population growth seems to be strongly affected by the number of new appearing urban places, Table 10 has been constructed in order to compare the degree to which the population of new urban places has contributed to the overall growth of the urban population in each state. Column 1 of the table indicates the total urban change for each state between 1960 and 1970.

In the South Atlantic the population growth evident in the new urban places, represents a significant proportion of the total urban growth that has occurred in this region and the entire South as well. States which have had high percent increases of urban places within the 1960-1970 decennial period, such as Maryland, Virginia, and Florida, are once more the states which have noticeable correlations with the percentages of the population that is attributable to new urban places.

However, a significant amount of the growth of the urban population during the sixties is attributable to the new urban places which have appeared within the less urbanized states. A case in point are the

TABLE 10

PERCENT OF GROWTH OF URBAN POPULATION ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE NEW URBAN PLACES: 1960-1970

State	Population Change 1960-1970	Percent of Urban Population Change	Percent Attributed to New Urban Places
Delaware	292,788	35.1	34.3
Maryland	2,253,832	33.3	96.9
District of Columbia	763,956	-1.0	
Virginia	2,204,913	33.2	97.0
West Virginia	711,101	-4.0	28.7
North Carolina	1,801,921	26.8	23.7
South Carolina	981,386	25.6	64.0
Georgia	2,180,236	27.0	18.3
Florida	3,661,383	49.3	41.8
Kentucky	1,353,215	24.4	29.5
Tennessee	1,864,828	23.6	28.4
Alabama	1,791,721	12.3	44.1
Mississippi	820,805	20.2	34.4
Arkansas	765,303	25.6	25.0
Louisiana	2,060,606	16.8	81.1
Oklahoma	1,464,786	18.8	22.3
Texas	7,187,470	24.1	15.1
The South	32,160,250	26.1	44.0

Source: Current Study, and U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1970. Number of Inhabitants, Final Report PC(1)-A1. United States Summary, Tables 8-10.

states of Louisiana and South Carolina. To further understand the significance of this result, there must be an examination of the new urban places by metro or nonmetro growth and also relevant size growth of the population. In South Carolina it is likely that a number of places have grown in the nonmetro areas. Nevertheless, a large number of population may be evident, in the state of South Carolina, in a few places that have recently evolved as urban and contain a population of 10,000 and above. The case may also be that a preponderance of places with population 2,500 to 5,000 have recently appeared. In Louisiana, from what has been derived so far, most of the growth is occurring at the New Orleans SMSA; thus, a major portion of the 81.1 percent of the population attributed to new urban places, is to be found within this metro area and the adjacent nonmetro counties. In the remaining Southern states, considering the proportion of total urban growth and number of new urban places in each state, a moderate percent of urban growth is attributable to new urban places; except Alabama which had a considerable amount of its growth of urban population attributed to new urban places, almost equal to the percent for the entire South.

The South appears to have undergone not only selective interstate increases concerning the percent of new urban places and population growth attributable to new urban places, but also in the states of South Atlantic, excluding Maryland, District of Columbia, and West Virginia, there is increasing growth of small nonmetro places as well as metropolitan. An investigation of metro as opposed to nonmetro growth, and of size of new urban places, is necessary in order to depict significant spatial differentials and size limitations in the urban growth of each state.

Tabulations in Table 11 of metro and nonmetro growth attributable to new urban places according to the places on file, are compared with the corresponding overall percent change of metro and nonmetro areas for each state from 1960 to 1970. In the same table, supplementary enumeration of new urban metro and nonmetro places, and percent distribution of metro and nonmetro growth of new urban places, has been compiled in colums 5 - 8. Although the South has undergone relatively moderate percent growth in metro and nonmetro areas and the metro growth is four times greater than nonmetro, a considerable amount of the growth should be attributed to new urban places proportionately.

An overall evaluation of population growth and evolvement of new urban places, reveals that from all the new urban places to be found in the South as of 1970, 55.5 percent of them grew in metropolitan areas. Concurrently, a 45.4 percent of new urban places errupted since 1960 as urban within nonmetropolitan areas. States which encountered most of the nonmetro population growth due to new urban places, were North Carolina, Mississippi, and Oklahoma. In the state of West Virginia, all of the three new urban places grew within nonmetro areas. The states that witnessed a considerable population nonmetro growth attributed to new urban places, were West Virginia, South Carolina, Kentucky, Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Texas. Some of the states which experienced a relatively low metro growth from 1960 to 1970, such as Alabama, Louisiana, and South Carolina, had a proportionately high percentage of metro growth attributable to new urban places.

A comparison of new urban places with the amount of population

TABLE 11

PERCENT CHANGES OF METRO AND NONMETRO AREAS ATTRIBUTABLE TO NEW URBAN PLACES, 1960-1970, AND PERCENT OF METRO AND NONMETRO DISTRIBUTION OF NEW PLACES

State	Percent Change of Metro Areas 1960-1970	Metro Percent Attributable to New Urban Places	Percent Change of Nonmetro Areas, 1960-1970	Nonmetro Percent Attributable to New Urban Places	Metro New Urban Places	Metro Percent Distribution of New Urban Places	Nonmetro New Urban Places	Nonmetro Perc Distribution New Urban Pla
Delaware	25.5	36.6	16.9	28.1	4	80.0	1	20.0
Maryland	29.7	94.1	11.8	25.4	63	96.9	2	3.1
Virginia	28.4	97.5	3.0	28.0	32	91.4	5	8.5
West Virginia	-5.2		-6.7	110.5			3	100.0
North Carolina	23.8	3.5	5.3	63.4	3	11.5	23	88.4
South Carolina	19.4	63.2	2.8	119.5	17	56.6	13	43.4
Georgia	25.7	13.3	8.5	26.5	14	46.6	16	53.4
Florida	37.2	29.5	37.0	81.5	62	50.5	61	49.5
Kentucky	14.1	35.8	1.1	192.3	10	50.0	10	50.0
Tennessee	13.0	20.3	7.2	59.3	9	32.1	19	67.9
Alabama	6.5	49.2	4.2	63.7	9	52.9	8	47.0
Mississippi	15.4	5.2	-0.8	392.2	1	5.8	16	94.0
Arkansas	14.3	25.7	4.9	47.3	3	23.0	10	77.0
Louisiana	14.0	94.5	9.2	34.7	7	43.7	9	56.1
Oklahoma	19.9	4.7	1.4	194.2	3	20.0	12	80.0
Texas	23.7	13.3	1.3	134.0	44	72.1	17	27.9
The South	22.0	40.0	5.7	72.3	281	55.5	225	45.4

Source: Current Study

growth, asserts that Maryland's metro growth in the sixties was almost entirely attributed to new urban places that grew within that state. States which had a high percent of metro growth and a large number of new urban places, have also experienced a fairly large amount of urban nonmetro growth attributable to new urban places; however, an exception to this is the state of Maryland. A clear indication of the degree of nonmetro population growth attributable to new urban places, is the inverse relation between low nonmetro growth in the 1960-1970 decade and the percent of growth attributable to the new nonmetro urban places. Nevertheless, in the less urbanized states, such as Mississippi, Oklahoma, West Virginia, and Arkansas, the population of the new urban places has been generally contained below 3,500. The southern states that experienced high percentages of urban growth in the sixties, witnessed a sizeable growth of new urban places in metro areas due to migration and annexation, but also moderate privinvial growth of nonmetro places, excluding the state of Maryland. This may be another indication for a continuous decrease of emmigration from nonmetro areas, particularly in the states of Texas, Florida, and North Carolina. An assumption can also be made regarding nonmetro growth in the states of Mississippi, Oklahoma, and South Carolina, that nonmetro natural increase was favorably high during the sixties. Georgia, Arkansas, and Oklahoma had a proportionate low population growth of metro and nonmetro areas in the sixties, mainly due to the appearance of a relatively low number of new urban places and continuous growth in central cities. However, in the state of Georgia there has been continuous metro ring growth and expansion, especially in the Atlanta SMSA, and it can be expected metro urban

growth will be twice as much in the seventies than it has been in the sixties. The City of Atlanta has been able to disseminate lucrative culture and industrial growth to many of the surrounding cities and small urban places.

Florida has been characteristic of a higher urban growth in the sixties than any other southern state, and the metro percent of new urban places was higher than nonmetro. Approximately fifty percent of the nonmetro growth in the sixties however, can be attributed to new urban places. Here the distribution of metro and nonmetro urban growth, and the emergence of new urban metro and nonmetro places, has been impressively equilateral. The state of Mississippi which suffered a loss in nonmetro population from 1960 to 1970, has as much as 392.2 percent of its nonmetro growth attributable to sixteen new urban places.

A closer examination of metro and nonmetro growth, has disclosed that as the result of the growth of new urban places in the sixties, nonmetro urban growth will continue to approach metro urban growth in the seventies if present trends continue. The exact urban growth which has occurred in the 1960-1970 decennial period within the South, is presented and compared with urban growth attributable to new urban places in Table 12. The percent figures are tabulated according to each state's metro and nonmetro urban growth, and military installations which were urban in 1960 have been controlled for.

Once more the urban nonmetro percent change in the decennial period 1960 to 1970 is inversely related to the urban nonmetro growth attributable to new urban places, except for the states of Florida and Texas. Although

TABLE 12

METRO AND NONMETRO URBAN PERCENT GROWTH ATTRIBUTABLE TO NEW URBAN PLACES: 1960-1970

State	Urban Metro Percent Change 1960-1970	Urban Metro Growth Attributable to New Urban Places	Urban Nonmetro Percent Change 1960-1970	Urban Nonmetro Growth Attributable to New Urban Places
Delaware	32.2	33.4	63.5	39.1
Maryland	37.4	92.3	-10.8	77.7
Virginia	44.3	78.3	-8.2	46.0
West Virginia	-7.4		-0.9	304.8
North Carolina	60.6	2.6	0.3	556.0
South Carolina	57.3	40.6	6.8	110.5
Georgia	33.2	12.7	13.8	40.4
Florida	51.6	26.6	41.6	130.0
Kentucky	28.2	22.9	17.2	45.8
Tennessee	22.5	15.1	75.3	19.4
Alabama	12.8	35.4	11.2	62.0
Mississippi	101.7	1.7	1.8	440.0
Arkansas	62.7	11.2	4.9	120.0
Louisiana	20.8	74.0	7.2	103.0
Oklahoma	27.7	4.1	5.1	73.8
Texas	35.0	10.9	-11.3	27.4
Total	34.4	32.7	9.5	105.0

Source: Current Study, and U. S. Summary, PC(1)-A1, Number of Inhabitants; Final Report.

Mississippi had 101.7 percent urban metro growth, apparently a major portion of the growth has occurred in the central cities of the Jackson and Biloxi SMSA's. Only a meager 1.7 percent of urban growth is the results of new urban places.

Maryland has exhibited some unique characteristics due to continuous increase in the metro ring areas. Since 1960, in Maryland there has been a loss in central city population, a loss in nonmetro population, but a phenomenal gain of almost one-million urban population in the metro ring area. It can be expected that in the seventies there will be an increase of urban population in nonmetro counties, as the process of decentralization ensues from metro cities, to the metro ring, to the fringe rural areas.

An investigation of cumulative urban growth in the South, has shown that the South Atlantic experienced 70.1 percent growth of metropolitan urban population outside of the central cities, and 59.3 percent of this urban growth was attributed to new places. The East South Central had 20.8 percent growth of urban population in the metro ring area, but 67.1 percent of this growth was attributable to new urban places. The East South Central accounted for the greatest amount of urban metro ring growth attributable to new urban places in the entire South. The West South Central accumulated the highest urban metro ring growth from 1960 to 1970, mainly due to the Fort Worth, Houston, and Corpus Christi SMSAs' expansion, but the amount of metro ring urban growth that was attributed to new urban places was the lowest in the South. A reason for such a contradiction within the West South Central, may well be the slight metro

growth of new urban places in the states of Oklahoma and Arkansas. Due to continuous immigration and industrial expansion in the state of Texas, urban growth in metro areas should continue at the same rate as they had been during the sixties. The SMSA's that can be expected to grow at rapid rates during the Seventies in the state of Texas, are Odessa-Midland, Amarillo, and Sherman-Denison.

In a further analysis of new small urban towns and cities as an entity, the quantative growth of entirely new urban places is examined. These are places which were totally non-existent from a physical perspective in 1960, but had developed during the sixties so as to become urban places as of 1970. Also, a general evaluation of size and density of new urban places is presented in order to show concrete variations between new urban places and entirely new urban places.

Entirely New Urban Places

In the following table a classification of all new places which were entirely non-existent in 1960, examines even further the correlations between metro and nonmetro urban growth of small places. (military Installations are included.)(See Table 13).

It is evident that from all the newly emerged urban places as of 1970, approximately 69 percent of them were entirely non-existent in 1960. Florida which contains the most new urban places that were entirely non-existent in 1960, had virtually an equilateral distribution proportionately to metro and nonmetro areas. It can be concluded that Maryland and Virginia experienced an enormous urban growth due to completely new urban places that were entirely non-existent in 1960. Approximately

TABLE 13

METRO AND NONMETRO CLASSIFICATION OF NEW URBAN PLACES ENTIRELY NON-EXISTENT IN 1960

State	Places in Metro Areas	Population	Places in non-metro Areas	Population	Total Population
Delaware	3	26,096	1	6,584	32,680
Maryland	60	647,425	1	9,136	656,561
Virginia	29	586,093	1	6,213	592,306
West Virginia	0		0		
North Carolina	0		9	48,799	48,799
South Carolina	9	63,889	5	29,588	93,477
Georgia	3	26,161	5	15,771	41,932
Florida	35	223,943	39	301,322	525,265
Kentucky	3	41,437	1	13,616	55,053
Tennessee	4	24,036	5	26,185	50,221
Alabama	4	37,801	3	16,600	55,401
Mississippi	0		3	17,600	17,600
Arkansas	1	13,231	1	16,791	30,022
Louisiana	7	247,914	3	16,791	264,705
Oklahoma	0		0		
Texas	14	110,316	2	7,300	117,616
Total	172	2,048,342	79	5,392,296	2,581,638

Source: Current Study.

one-fourth of Maryland's and Virginia's urban population is the result of 1960 to 1970 growth. From all the entirely newly emerged urban places, the state of Florida accounts for 24.2 percent of them. In Florida most of the metro growth has been in the areas of Jacksonville, Gainesville, Tampa, and Fort Lauderdale-Hollywood. However, a major portion of this growth was due to central city annexation and not as much to natural increases, but there has been noticeable immigration into Fort Lauderdale-Hollywood and Tampa-St. Petersburg areas.

Texas has witnessed the least amount of population density accounted for by new urban places proportionally to Florida, Maryland, and Virginia. In Texas most of the growth in the 1960-1970 period of places which did not exist in 1960, has been in the SMSA of San Antonio, and it has occurred in the places of Fort Sam Houston, Lackland, Live Oak City, Schertz City, and Universal city town, of this metro area. It can be ascertained that Texas had the least amount of urban growth attributable to entirely new places non-existent in 1960, and the highest percentage of growth from 1960 to 1970 of rural places which existed in 1960, has occurred in the places of Crowley City 356.6 percent, Everman Village 324.7 percent, Missouri City City 584.8 percent, Pearland Village 330.5 percent, and Windcrest Town 664.4 percent. In a final analysis approximately more than 85 percent of the growth in Texas attributable to new urban places has been in the metro ring areas.

In examining the growth of individual places it is found that a number of places which indeed existed in 1960 and have become redefined as urban in 1970, have undergone as much as one thousand percent change

from 1960 to 1970. The subsequent Table 14 specifies the individual places which experienced a major growth in the South from 1960 to 1970. (Places which do not entail a 1960 population were non-existent). The selection is made from the top three places existent in 1960, and the top three places non-existent in 1960, this is what the table representational data is based upon.

Size and Density

Some of the most densley populated areas, in the states which did not have as many new urban places developed as Florida, Maryland, and Texas, contained places that were entirely non-existent in 1960. In Virginia the town of Seven Corners, population 5,590 with 7,986 people per square mile, and composed of 0.7 land area in square miles is the most densely populated new urban place in Virginia. Other new urban places which were the most densely populated in their respective states were LaGrange Town, North Carolina; Clarkston Town, Georgia; McCall Town, South Carolina; Marathon, Florida; Beaver Dam City, Kentucky; Kingston Town, Tennessee; Roosevelt City, Alabama; Drew Town, Mississippi; Augusta City, Arkansas; Gramercy Village, Louisiana; Valley Brook Town, Oklahoma; South San Pedro, Texas. Delaware has had the greatest amount of growth and population density in the Greater Newark Division of the New Castle country.

The majority of the places that became urban as of 1970 were of a population 2,500 to 5,000, and represented 58.1 percent of all the newly evolved urban places. An enumeration by size of place was composed in Table 15 in order to examine cumulative recent growth of population and

TABLE 14

PLACES WHICH EXPERIENCED THE HIGHEST PERCENT OF GROWTH AND BECAME URBAN AS OF 1970 IN THE SOUTH, BY STATE FROM 1960 TO 1970

State	Population 1970	Place	Population 1960	Percent Change	Population Per Square Mile	Land Area In Square Miles
Delaware	10,134	Leedom			5,630	1.8
	8,106	Dover Base			4,768	1.7
West Virginia	3,491	Hurricane Village	1,970	77.2	4,364	0.8
	3,002	Philippi Town	2,228	34.7	2,309	1.3
Maryland	35,028	Bowie Town	1,072	1,000+	3,156	11.1
	7,368	Waldorf	1,048	603.1	664	11.1
	35,656	Chillum			7,751	4.6
	38,608	Glen Burnie			4,197	9.2
	33,683	Randalls Town			3,622	9.3
	28,811	Woodlawn-Woodmoor			4,237	6.8
Virginia	5,556	Chester	1,290	330.7	741	7.5
	6,056	Culpepper Town	2,412	151.1	904	6.7
	2,713	Smithfield Town	917	195.9	2,087	1.3
	174,284	Arlington		1,000.9	6,729	25.9
	89,580	Chesapeake			258	346.8
	25,412	Woodbridge Marumso			3,683	6.9
North Carolina	6,103	Archdale City	1,520	301.5	1,130	5.4
	3,204	Black Mountain Town	1,313	144.0	1,001	3.2
	3,355	Conover Town	2,281	117.1	2,237	1.5
	12,029	Cherry Point			738	16.3
	15,871	Eden Town			1,356	11.7
	8,699	New-River Gieger			1,192	7.3
South Carolina	6,831	Taylors	1,017	537.8	1,339	4.9

TABLE 14 (cont'd)

State	Population 1970	Place	Population 1960	Percent Change	Population Per Square Mile	Land Area In Square Miles
South Carolina (cont'd)	5,578	Clemson Town	1,587	251.5	808	6.9
	2,865	Port Royal Town	686	317.6	1,685	1.7
	17,152	Wade-Hampton			2,486	6.9
	13,565	Charleston Yard			6,460	2.1
	11,386	Gantt			1,340	8.5
Georgia	3,708	Morrow City	580	539.3	742	5.0
	2,559	Powder Springs City	746	243.0	984	2.6
	4,467	Fort Stewart			221	20.2
	7,288	Windsor Forest			2,082	3.5
Florida	12,749	Brandon	1,665	665.7	973	13.1
	8,465	Lauderhill City	132	1,000+	1,539	5.5
	6,102	Palm Beach Gardens City	1	1,000+	642	9.5
	15,520	Pembroke City Pines	1,429	986.1	1,194	13.2
	20,924	West Pensacola			3,736	5.6
	35,497	Kendall			2,151	16.5
Kentucky	5,348	Cold Springs City	1,095	388.4	3,820	1.4
	3,253	Taylor Mill City	710	358.2	271	12.0
	17,643	Okolona			2,485	7.1
Tennessee	2,822	Church Hill Town	769	267.0	763	3.7
	3,474	German Town City	1,104	214.7	543	6.4
	4,142	Wingston Town	2,010	106.1	4,142	1.0
	13,118	Kingsport North			1,491	8.8
Alabama	5,182	Daleville Town	693	647.8	850	6.1
	15,675	Center Point			2,412	6.5
	12,372	Bluff Park			1,250	9.9

TABLE 14 (cont'd)

State	Population 1970	Place	Population 1960	Percent Change	Population Per Square Mile	Land Area In Square Miles
Mississippi	3,108	Waveland Town	1,016	181.0	518	6.0
	8,931	Southhaven			3,190	2.8
Arkansas	2,754	Sherwood City	1,222	125.4	1,252	2.2
	2,903	Cabot City	1,321	119.8	484	6.0
	13,231	South West Little Rock			1,946	6.8
Louisiana	4,697	Jackson Town	1,824	157.5	1,566	3.0
	135,816	Metairie			5,829	23.3
	29,015	Morrero			5,181	5.6
Oklahoma	2,637	Mustang Town	198	1,000+	88	30.0
	4,750	Choctow Town	623	662.4	198	24.0
	18,761	Moore City	1,783	952.2	861	21.8
Texas	3,371	Windcrest Town	441	664.4	1,686	2.0
	4,136	Missouri City City	604	584.8	153	27.1
	6,444	Pearland Village	1,497	330.5	496	13.0
	2,662	Crowley City	583	356.6	423	6.3
	19,141	Lackland			1,329	14.4

Source: Current Study, and U. S. Summary, PC(1)-A1, Number of Inhabitants; Final Report.

TABLE 15

NEW URBAN PLACES BY SIZE: 1970

State	2,500-5,000 Number	2,500-5,000 Population	5,000-10,000 Number	5,000-10,000 Population	10,000-25,000 Number	10,000-25,000 Population	25,000-50,000 Number	25,000-50,000 Population
Delaware	1	2,644	3	22,546	1	10,134		
Maryland	9	32,716	33	330,410	19	308,090	5	171,786
District of Columbia								
West Virginia	3	9,090						
Virginia	7	24,858	12	78,389	13	174,979	3	78,272
North Carolina	19	56,001	4	28,257	2	27,900	2	81,544
South Carolina	18	54,814	9	63,334	3	42,103		
Georgia	29	84,776	1	7,288	1	15,589	1	27,495
Florida	67	223,163	38	263,847	16	208,000	1	35,497
Kentucky	15	48,728	3	17,689	2	31,259	1	37,608
Tennessee	21	64,111	5	35,912	2	25,114		
Alabama	9	26,409	5	28,379	3	42,289		
Mississippi	16	50,742	1	8,931				
Arkansas	12	35,509			1	13,231		
Louisiana	6	19,501	4	28,457	3	67,702	1	29,015
Oklahoma	14	42,766			2	39,978		
Texas	50	158,881	7	49,129	4	53,800	1	32,597
Total	296	934,709	125	967,568	72	1,060,168	15	493,814

Source: Current Study.

places by state in the South.

All of these places amassed a population of 3,456,259 and represented 19.5 percent of the South's total population in 1970. The state of Florida obtained the most new urban places of a population 2,500 to 5,000 and 5,000 to 10,000, while Maryland had the most places in the population sizes of 10,000 to 25,000 and 25,000 to 50,000. Maryland's growth has been overwhelmingly metro ring growth and amalgamation into the Washington SMSA and Wilmington, Delaware SMSA.

In all of the other Southern states development has been largely in the 2,500 to 5,000 population bracket, with the exception of Virginia which had considerable growth in the northern territory of places 5,000 to 10,000 and 10,000 to 25,000 population. Much growth however occurred in the Newport News-Hampton SMSA at the South Eastern section of Virginia, and this area is expanding toward Richmond. In Georgia, Oklahoma, and Arkansas approximately 90 percent of the growth of places below 50,000 population, has been in the category of places 2,500 to 5,000 population in the 1960-1970 decade.

The growth of small urban places of 2,500 to 5,000 population has been most tenacious in the state of Mississippi. Here urban places below a population of 5,001 reflect 94 percent when compared with all other categorized places. A comparison of the new urban places with the size of places in Table 5, suggests that Texas which contained 152 places of population 2,500 to 5,000 in 1970, has had also the greatest number of new places within the same category. These new urban places in the 2,500 to 5,000 population category compose 53 percent of Texas total of places

within this same category. New urban places in the state of Florida of 5,000 to 10,000 population represent 41 percent of all places to be found within that same category in this state.

A comparison of all new urban places below a population of 5,000 with the total of all urban places below 5,000 population in the entire South, shows that new urban places represent 27 percent of the total. The following Table 16 presents the percent growth of places from 1960 to 1970 by size. In the sixties, the size of places in the South have increased considerably in the 2,500 to 5,000 population category. It can be concluded that for the entire South, the size of places is inversely related to the percent growth due to new urban places. An overall increase growth of 32.3 percent is evident of all urban places below 50,000 population within the South in the intercencal period 1960-1970. Column two of Table 16 discloses the percent attributable to new urban places.

The growth of places of a population 25,000 to 50,000 has been held only to a low 15.1 percent, and it seems that it is annually declining, or at least has been since 1950. This implies an increasing proportion of growth occurring in the metro ring, especially fringe areas, and a considerable multi-growth of nonmetro urban places. In the states of Maryland, Florida, Virginia, and Texas, the growth of small new urban places has been largely in the fringe areas of the metro ring, underscoring suburbanization and expansion. In states, such as Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Florida again, wherever a high percent of growth is evident of new small urban places, the growth has been reflecting mainly nonmetro urban growth of such places. If present trends

TABLE 16

PERCENT GROWTH OF PLACES IN THE SOUTH ATTRIBUTABLE TO NEW URBAN PLACES BY SIZE: 1960-1970

Size of Place	Urban Places 1960	Places Growth Percent, Attributable To New Urban Places
25,000 - 50,000	99	15.1
10,000 - 25,000	302	23.0
5,000 - 10,000	431	29.0
2,500 - 5,000	731	40.4
The South	1,563	32.3

Source: Current Study.

of growth continue, the percent growth of urban places of a population 2,500 to 5,000 should be as much as one-third higher in the seventies than it has been in the sixties. Also, a higher percent growth should occur in the seventies of places 5,000 to 10,000 population, than it has been in the sixties.

County Growth

The South contains the greatest number of counties in the entire nation. The majority of these counties, 589, are found in the South Atlantic region. Approximately 409 counties in the South are considered completely rural with no urban population whatsoever. As of 1970, an estimated 2.7 percent of all Southern counties are considered to be one-hundred percent urban. On the national level a comparison of the South

with the other regions of the country in Table 17, shows the county growth that has occurred in the 1960 to 1970 interim within all of the three Southern subregions.

Urban growth in metro counties surpasses the growth of nonmetro counties in the South, however, nonmetro county urban growth has been of moderate proportions. Some of the southern counties which have experienced a major urban growth in the decennial period of 1960-1970 have been: Dale, Alabama; New Castle, Delaware; Brevard, Florida; Collier, Florida; Clayton and Chattahooche, Georgia; Bullit, Kentucky; Vernon, Louisiana; Prince Georges, Maryland, and Prince Williams, Virginia. In the East South Central and West South Central regions moderate urban growth has occurred in Jackson, Mississippi; Cleveland, Oklahoma, Montgomery and Collin, Texas. Other major urban growth has been evident in Virginia Beach and Fairfax, Virginia, which are classified as independent cities.

The overall population growth in the South from 1960 to 1970 has been high for nonmetro counties. This implicates possible high fertility rates, low emmigration, and urban nonmetro growth. Many of the nonmetro counties are correlary with the new urban places and the urban growth the places have encountered. Table 18 presents the population percent growth for nonmetro counties of the southern subregions during the sixties. The counties are enumerated according to a growth of 25 percent and over, and the state of West Virginia is not represented in the percent growth due to the scarcity of county growth of 25 percent or more.

An estimated 80 percent of the counties that experienced a population

TABLE 17

COUNTIES BY PERCENT CHANGE IN POPULATION:
1960-1970

Regions	Number of Counties	Total	Counties With Increase 20% Or More	10% To 19.9%
Northeast	217	176	45	49
North Central	1,056	525	107	133
South	1,423	794	224	210
West	445	256	117	61
Total	3,141	1,751	493	453

Source: U. S. Summary PC(1)-A1; Number of Inhabitants.

growth of 50.1 percent and over in the South Atlantic are located in Florida. In the South Atlantic most of the new urban places appeared in the counties of Prince Georges, and Montgomery, Maryland; Fairfax, Virginia; Sarasota, Broward, Hillsborough, and Brevard, Florida. Undoubtedly, most of the growth of new urban places has been in the metro ring areas. Non-metro growth of new urban places has been especially concentrated in the counties adjacent to SMSA's. A discernible evaluation of county growth is available on the appendix of this study. The counties are shown by state and the code is as follows: a) The number circled within each county represents the amount of new urban places within that county, b) The number within each county signifies the percent growth of the county population attributable to the new urban places, as obtained for the 1960-1970 decade.

In retrospect, metro growth has also been excessive in the county

TABLE 18

POPULATION GROWTH OF NONMETRO COUNTIES IN THE SOUTH: 1960-1970

Subregions	Number Of Counties	25 To 35%	35.1 To 50%	50.1% and Over
South Atlantic	515	19	12	15
South Central East	335	8	1	3
West South Central	403	13	12	3
Total	1,253	40	25	21

Source: Current Study.

of Bexar of the state of Texas. Approximately 5 percent of all the nonmetro counties in the South experienced growth of new urban places in the sixties. A comparison of nonmetro to metro attainment of new urban places as of 1970, reveals that from all the newly emergent urban places that were entirely non-existent in 1960, about 27 percent of them developed in nonmetro counties. A descriptive classification of new urban towns and cities, entirely non-existent in 1960, has been composed at Table A of the appendix. Following each county is the number of entirely new urban places that grew within that same county. A large percentage of entirely new places, have been the result of metro ring nominal classification due to central city annexation.

Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas that enclave counties which have undergone a significant urban growth due to the appearance of new urban places, these are entirely new urban places, are most evident in the states of Maryland, Virginia and Florida. The county of Prince Georges

in the Washington SMSA, obtained 24 entirely new urban places as of 1970. Fairfax county accounted for 17 entirely new places that have been classified as urban as of 1970; this county is found in Virginia. The county of Broward in Florida's Fort Lauderdate-Hollywood SMSA had thirteen entirely new urban places. In the overall county growth in the South from 1960 to 1970, it is apparent that 17.0 percent of all counties in the South experienced the growth of new small urban places. While the number of nonmetro counties that contained new urban places surpasses the number of metro counties with new urban places by fifty percent, urban places evolved in metro counties assessed a much greater proportion of population than nonmetro.

Summary

In a final analysis, the overall enumeration of nonmetro places which acquired an urban classification as of 1970, has been estimated at 45.4 percent, as opposed to metropolitan new urban places. This substantiates the increase of urban growth that has incept within nonmetro counties since 1960. As it has been already stated, the nonmetro urban growth can be expected to accentuate within the seventies, particularly in the more urbanized states; that is states that have undergone major increases of population size and density in the SMSA areas. A tacit indication of nonmetro rapid growth is the state of North Carolina. Although, the growth of small places with population 2,500 to 5,000 has exacerbated, more so in the rural fringe area of the metro ring than anywhere else, these places have been a major determinant for urban growth in the less urbanized states; i.e. urban growth in the state of Mississippi and

Arkansas.

The state of Florida accounted for the highest rate of growth of nonmetro new urban places. The State of Maryland possessed the highest rate of growth of metropolitan new urban places. Florida's total population attributable to new urban places from 1960 to 1970, was estimated at 756,657 people and surpassed all other southern states. Other states in which the growth of new urban places affected considerably the total population growth during the sixties, are Maryland, Virginia, Louisiana, and Texas. In Louisiana, extensive urban growth has culminated in the New Orleans SMSA.

Places that became urban as of 1970, contain 9.0 percent of all the total urban population to be found in the South. New urban places contributed more than ninety percent to the total urban metro growth in the state of Maryland during the sixties. The significance of urban growth attributable to new small urban towns and cities, is underscored by the fact that during the sixties these new urban places comprised 43 percent of the total urban growth in the South.

The states that assessed most of the places in the 2,500 to 5,000 population category, are respectively Florida, Texas, and Georgia. The data has shown that in respect to urban growth attributable to new small urban places, southern states have undergone selective urban metro and nonmetro growth. The states of Maryland and Texas have exhibited unique differential rates of growth from the rest of the states. In both of these states the growth has been overwhelmingly metro. Texas attained a considerable amount of nonmetro urban places, but these places were responsible for only 27.4 percent of the nonmetro growth during the sixties.

Nevertheless, in Texas nonmetro urban growth has receded to -11.3 percent since 1960, most likely the result of continuous immigration into the state's SMSA's, and reclassification of nonmetro counties to metro, thus, the contribution of nonmetro new urban places to the nonmetro urban growth has been appreciable.

The County of Prince Georges, Maryland contained most of the newly developed places proportionately, that have entered the urban classification as of 1970.

During the fifties, the South's urban growth was estimated at 40.1 percent, and the state of Florida had the highest percentage of urban growth than any other state. Even though the percent of urban growth in the state of Florida dropped fourteen percent from 1960 to 1970, Florida along with Maryland, Texas, Delaware, and Virginia continued to account for most of the urban growth in the South during the sixties.

Furthermore, new urban places have made also significant contributions to the total urban population growth of South Carolina, Louisiana, and Alabama. The state of Louisiana recorded a total urban population growth in the sixties of 16.8 percent, from which 81.1 percent was attributed to new urban places in that state. The states of Florida, Maryland, Texas, and Virginia, obtained most of the new urban places respectively. The state of Maryland surpassed all other southern states in population density per square mile of land area in all of the new urban places, and also had the highest percent increase in the number of urban places during the sixties.

Having examined the statistical growth of small newly evolved urban

towns and cities, and the urban growth of counties in the South, there remains the task of elaborating on some of the socio-economic criteria that have contributed to urban growth in the South. The final chapter presents a general evaluation of socio-economic conditions that are associated with the South's urban growth, and subsequently provides a summation of this study. An analysis is made of implications that have materialized as the result of the growth of new small urban places. The conclusions are based upon the research that has been conducted thus far in this thesis, and are supplemented with additional data on the southern regions.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Summary of Findings

The current emphasis on the appearance of megalopoles, occasionally has overshadowed the growth of small town and cities. The metropolitan expansion that occurred in the South during the sixties, has been affected profoundly by the growth of new small urban places. Metro growth has implied rapid urbanization in metro ring peripheries as well as in nonmetro areas. This urbanization should continue at high rates for nonmetro places during the seventies.

The growth of megalopoles has been most evident in the states of the South Atlantic region and in Texas. Pending the 1970-1980 decade, continuous growth in the metropolitan ring areas, particularly at the rural-urban fringe areas, can be expected to be pervasive in the states of Texas, Florida, Virginia, Georgia and Tennessee. While in the states of Florida, Texas, and North Carolina, nonmetro growth will continue during the seventies, more agrarian states such as Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Delaware can be expected to account for high rates of nonmetro urban places. In the less urbanized states of the South, recent growth of urban places is mainly the result of cultural diffusion and a moderate fertility rate coupled with declining outmigration. These criteria are essential characteristics of nonmetro small towns and cities, regardless of the urban growth that the state has undergone comparatively

with the other Southern states.

There have been current trends of migration into the rural areas that surround metro districts, but in most of the states these trends have been somewhat inconsistent and delimited at this time. While the actual process of urbanization has reached a plateau in the regions of Northeast and Midwest, urban growth in the South has continued in all states except for West Virginia and the District of Columbia. One of the most important factors that to a certain degree has already affected urban growth in the South, and will increasingly do so in the seventies, is the curtailment of rural to urban migration. The most universal indicant for metro urban growth outside of central cities, has been the process of decentralization.

As urban growth becomes more rapid in rural areas, it is imperative to examine the appearance or disappearance of towns, and the demographic trends of small cities.

It has been determined that the 506 new urban places which grew over the 1960-1970 decade, contained 9 percent of the South's urban population as of 1970. The growth of these places has significantly contributed to the overall urban population in all southern states; especially in Maryland and Virginia. For all of the southern states, a positive relationship of +.73 was found between the percent increase in urban population and percent increase in number of urban places. The highest percent increase in the number of urban places from 1960 to 1970 has been in the state of Maryland. This urban growth in Maryland is predominately in the metro ring areas, and should be expected to subside during the

seventies.

In the entire South, from 1960 to 1970 there was a 26 percent change in urban population. Of this change, an estimated 44 percent was attributed to the appearance of new urban places. The percent of urban population growth during the sixties attributable to new urban places, has been greatest in the states of Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina and Louisiana. In West Virginia, where there has been a loss in the urban population, all of the urban growth was attributed to new urban places.

This study also revealed that while states with high rates of metro urban growth have had considerable nonmetro growth as well, states that are less urbanized, such as Mississippi and North Carolina, have witnessed major nonmetro urban growth rates. An examination in the proportionate growth of new urban places, has shown that 55.5 percent of all new urban places were in metro areas, while 45.4 percent were located in nonmetro areas, attesting to the increasing urban growth of non-metropolitan areas. The growth of population in nonmetro areas in the 1960-1970 interim has been 5.7 percent, but 72.3 percent of this growth was in fact attributable to new urban places. Florida has undergone an equilateral urban growth during the sixties of metro and nonmetro new urban places. However, nonmetro new urban places in Florida have contained a much greater proportion of population than metro new urban places. Comparable to all other southern states, Florida has also shown the greatest number of new urban places with population in the 2,500 to 5,000 and 5,000 to 10,000 size categories. In the states of Mississippi, Texas, West Virginia, Oklahoma, and Kentucky, almost the entire nonmetro population growth can be attributed to new urban places.

A scrutiny upon the metro and nonmetro growth of urban population, has disclosed that from the South's 34.4 percent change in metro urban population from 1960 to 1970, approximately 33 percent can be credited to new urban places. Concerning the urban growth of nonmetro areas during the sixties, there has been 9.5 percent growth, and 105.0 percent of this growth was attributable to new urban places. Furthermore, the urban nonmetro percent change during the sixties is inversely related to the urban nonmetro growth attributable to new urban places. As expected, in the states of Virginia, Maryland and Louisiana, a high percent of the metro urban growth was attributable to new urban places. However, in the less urbanized states of South Carolina and Alabama, the percent growth of metro urban population due to new urban places was also high. In these two states, this growth is mostly natural increase and it can be expected to ensue during the seventies; especially in South Carolina. In all of the southern states, the nonmetro urban growth of new places has been a recurrent determinant for nonmetro urban growth except for the state of Tennessee.

It is interesting that from all the newly emergent urban places, an estimated 251 places were physically non-existent in 1960, or they emerged as urban through nominal reclassification. Approximately 192 of those places entirely non-existent in 1960, appeared in the metro ring areas. Although, the growth of urbanized areas, SMSA's, and large cities has been rapid, central city growth in most of the states is directly attributed to the black population and is subsiding. In the meanwhile, there has been an increasing net gain of whites in metro ring and rural places in the southern states.

While metro urban and nonmetro population growth due to new urban places has been selective, based upon data accumulation it is inferred that most of the nonmetro growth of new urban places and urban growth in general, has indeed occurred in nonmetro counties adjacent to the metro ring areas. During the sixties, in the entire South the percent of growth of urban places below 50,000 population, that was attributed to new urban places, was estimated at 32.3 percent. The percent growth of all urban places below 50,000 population, and of all new urban places below 50,000 population, has been most rapid for the places in the 2,500 to 5,000 population size proportion. The growth of such small urban places can be expected to continue at high rates during the seventies, especially in the less urbanized states within the South.

In most of the new urban places, both income per capita and employment rates, have risen since 1950 in the states of Maryland, Florida, Texas, Georgia, Delaware and Virginia. Socioeconomic characteristics remain lower for blacks than for whites in both metro and nonmetro areas. However, during the sixties the South experienced a continuous loss of blacks to other regions, even though over one-half of all blacks in the nation are found in the South. Metro employment and income per capita, is largely affected by the growth of the black metro population. The rates of growth for blacks in metro areas have been higher than nonmetro.

Due to the gradual disappearance of selective migration from nonmetro to metro areas, central cities are receiving both lower and working class population with greater socioeconomic disparities. Future improvements of socioeconomic characteristics are still very much dependent

upon educational progress. This is especially true for blacks, who are experiencing changes in life styles as they are increasingly affected by social mobility. Although most of the prejudicial conflicts that had previously existed, have been somewhat allayed due to spatial redistribution such as the process of suburbanization, integration is gradually accepted at large as both whites and blacks are striving to improve their socio-economic conditions.

In the southern regions, life styles have gradually adapted to the new social, political and economic urban organizations in order to meet requirements in a changing occupational structure. Industrialization, which is rapidly developing in most of the southern states, has hastened metro ring growth, and has attested to a contemporary type of urban growth for southern states. This recent urban growth is not only characteristic of massive population size and density, which enables a place to enter the urban classification. It also exemplifies the growth of cities that are becoming highly interdependent on an industrial basis, and are enhanced by continuous cultural enrichment. Specialization and economic prosperity, have been largely affected by neighboring large central cities and have induced nonmetro urban growth. As it has been previously pointed out, many places in nonmetro as well as in metro areas change their name once they become incorporated, or they may consolidate with other towns and arise as new places. The rural growth will be as much an attribute to the states' urban growth for the next intercencal period, as the growth that has occurred within metro areas.

Discussion, Socioeconomic Characteristics

The initial urban places that flourished in the South were cities

in the Eastern Seaboard. Some of them were St. Augustine, 1590; New Orleans in the 1600's; Charleston, South Carolina, 1620; Savannah Circa 1720; and Atlanta 1840 to 1850. These cities were among the first commercial and cultural exchange centers in the Nation. As early as 1890, the Southwest had made considerable economic and industrial progress which distinguished it from the remainder of the South. In the South Atlantic, Maryland, the District of Columbia and Northern Virginia have been densely populated since 1935. Although industrial development has lagged until recently in Florida, in the 1950 to 1960 period Florida experienced the greatest population increase than any other state in the United States. Since 1960, there has been moderate industrial growth in Florida, especially in the Miami, Jacksonville and Tampa SMSA's.

Until 1945, living conditions in the South had connoted low socio-economic standards, and industrial growth in metro areas had been slow. In 1941, the Southeast reported the lowest income per capita in the Nation.[1] Until World War II, there had been a continuous struggle, and to a certain degree a decline, in respect to past prosperity connected with the South's early wealth. The South has always exhibited a proliferate culture, and although economic growth has been turbulent, it has been no more suppressed than in many other areas of the Nation. In the pre-depression years the South contained the largest proportion of farm population in the country.

Recent unionization and industrial expansion have contributed to

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[1] Rupert Vance, The South's Place in the Nation (Public Affairs Committee, Incorporated, 1941), p. 133.

higher wages and to the gross product of all three subregions in the South. Commodity manufacturing has increased considerably, especially in cities such as Dallas, Houston, Forth Smith, Birmingham, Jacksonville, Greensboro-Winston-Salem-High Point, Richmond, and Atlanta. Since 1950, there has occurred major industrial productivity in Birmingham, Charlotte, N. C., Memphis, Atlanta, Houston, Tampa, Jacksonville, Amarrilo, Texas, and Richmond, Virginia. In many areas deprivation and a subsistence economy have been alleviated and often completely eradicated. Eventually, urbanization in most of the states has been enhanced by rational planning. As outmigration is consistently declining and birthrates have been declining as well, the high dependency ratio should continue to decline considerably.

In urban places per capita income has risen and there is evidence of improvements in socioeconomic objective factors and life chances. The socioeconomic conditions for blacks have improved considerably, especially within the larger SMSA's. Racial integration and economic appraisal, have mallified prejudicial institutions and have provided opportunities within the occupational structures.

In the agrarian areas, industrial impregnation that was occasionally resisted by parochials, is now being sought invariably by all urban emergent towns and cities. The increase in educational standards has been moderate, but states such as Georgia, Mississippi, and West Virginia still remain below the national average.

The Cities of Tampa, Birmingham, Knoxville, Dallas, Richmond, and Fort Smith are heavily involved in the steel industry, and are

characterized by both horizontal and vertical productivity. Synthetic material manufacturing and technical production is evident in most of the metro areas, but within the last decade it has been most apparent in cities such as Atlanta, Memphis, Houston, Winston-Salem, N. C., and Baltimore.

Many of the corporations have conferred with international cartels and consortiums, and in this respect they have contributed to the importation of goods and capital. However, in some areas the expatriation of capital has continued to the degree that it has created saturation in regional economic growth.

Rapid industrial growth in the state of Texas has allowed for higher rates of immigration within that state. Dallas could be considered as the commercial and financial center not only of Texas but the entire Southwest region. Fort Worth has long been the processing and commercial center for the livestock area of the West. In the state of North Carolina, Charlotte has been heavily engaged in textile manufacturing and trading. Other cities which are renown for manufacturing products, are Chattanooga, Louisville, Atlanta, Greensboro, N. C., and Baltimore.

All of the aforementioned factors have enhanced economic development in the South, and they have stimulated the urban growth of smaller towns and cities. Between 1956 and 1959, an estimated 4,448 new industrial plants had been established in the South. These and other plants that have been built since 1959, have provided labor opportunities in former economically deprived areas. A rise in the income level has allowed for considerable progress, for the rising income of the father is usually

inversely related to infant mortality rates and education level. However, economic prosperity and urban growth has also conceivably contributed to inequities in consumption habits. It is apparent that productivity is gradually demeaned as an increasing number of people are entering tertiary service occupations.

Public and private occupations within the labor force, are undergoing revisions as the occupational structures that previously existed in central and satellite cities have been changing. Although many cities are confronted with unemployment, especially among the black population, the highest rates of unemployment are usually found in the rural nonfarm areas while high rates of underemployment are found among the rural farm population.

The managerial occupational structure has improved considerably in the South, especially in the South Atlantic and the state of Texas. In the metro ring areas there is a preponderant increase of single-family dwellings, and transportation facilities have been extensively developed in all SMSA's. However, the population of central cities is also witnessing noticeable increases of tax revenues, sales tax, and rent of housing units.

As of 1950, the immigrants to the South have been better educated and trained than the outmigrants, and the region has been able to retain a greater number of young graduates than before. Census data has shown that the typical Georgian has completed 10 years of school, lives not on a farm as the case had been in the past, but in an urban area.[1] In the

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[1]U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: General Social and Economic Characteristics, 1970 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1970).

large cities of the South the education standards have risen slightly for blacks and whites as compared to rural areas. Institutions of higher learning have improved enormously in all of the southern states.

Contrary to the pre-World War II era, current urban growth has ameliorated local rigidity which existed in some areas of the South. Cosmopolitanism is a developing characteristic in the South Atlantic, while the South West Central region is still fostering Mexican and Indian population. In Georgia three percent of her population is foreign born or of foreign parentage. The ethnic proportions contain immigrants respectively from Germany, United Kingdom, Canada, U.S.S.R., and Poland. Other than the above nationalities, additional minorities to be found in many states of the South are, Greek, Irish, Austrian, French, and Puerto Ricans.

Florida contains the highest proportion of Cubans, of which most of them live in the Miami SMSA. In the states of Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas, other countries which are represented by a population of 1,000 persons or more are: Italy, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. Countries which are represented by a population of five-hundred or more are: Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Finland, and in lesser numbers Asians and Latin Americans. Approximately 85 percent of all foreign born population reside in the metro areas.

In 1961, the Sixth Federal Reserve Bank System, which administers to all the central states of the South, had total assets of roughly $16,478,800,000 dollars. The demand deposits were $10,121,000,000 dollars,

which were a significant enrichment. These demands were 6½ percent and 7 percent of the nation's total.[1] Although a meager growth, it has increased considerably since 1960.

Socioeconomic characteristics of the population in the residential suburbs connote higher median incomes, more residents who have completed the high school years, and more people in the white collar occupations than the employing suburbs and the central cities. The rural-urban fringe is representative of continuous instability and change, and is increasingly becoming inhabited by upper middle class population who are characteristic of the "reluctant suburbs." Current urban growth in the reluctant suburbs entails an upper middle or upper class population, diversified single family dwellings, and higher income and educational level than all other areas. In the East South Central fertility rates have declined since 1960, but still remain higher in nonmetropolitan areas. In metropolitan central cities mortality rates are slightly higher than the metro ring and rural places due to older age structure. Unemployment is higher in the rural nonfarm areas, especially of the states of Mississippi, Kentucky, Louisiana, South Carolina, and West Virginia.

Implications for Further Research

A primary determinant for urban metro growth within most of the southern states, and one that should be studied more exclusively, is the metro growth due to central city annexation. Urbanized areas expand and

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[1] Thomas Clark, The Emerging South (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 64-66.

conglomerate unincorporated satellite cities and suburban areas. Future studies need to be directed toward the population of suburbs once they have become incorporated into the urbanized areas, and focus upon central city loss or gain due to annexation.

Additional research concerning the socio-economic characteristics of new urban places, such as the ones that have errupted over the 1960-1970 decade, should be conducted by demographers and other sociologists. Heterogeneity that exists among the populations of different subregions, is demeaned only by the common denominator of a few basic, biologically inherent characteristics. Socio-economic characteristics differ from one region to another, and frequently exhibit fluctuations from one year to another. What is often referred to as functional integration, leads to theoretical and empirical misconceptions. Occupational structures not only are characterized by continuous competition among people in the labor force of provincial and inte regional areas, but are also determinants of new social organizations. Organizations which are the result of perpetual conflicting interrelationships of the market and the polities. It would also be resourceful to examine the current migration patterns of new urban places, especially in non-metropolitan areas. These patterns are subject to drastic changes, and are showing traits that differ from previous decades.

The entire process of urbanization is a dynamic and multifacet phenomenon relevant to social change. Although a demographic study is based mainly upon quantitative data accumulation and interpretation, it is intriguing to examine the growth of rural places into urban cities, and the contribution that these new urban places have made in to a state's

or a region's urban growth. As the growth of new urban places, whether autonomous or through consolidation with other places, and the growth of nonmetro new urban places, becomes most important to the urbanization of the South, demographic studies must increasingly become as concerned with these places as they have been with large cities. It is phenomenal that a rural place can undergo 1,000 percent change within a decade, so as to become a city and exhibit drastic changes in the life styles of its inhabitants and the inhabitants of surrounding counties.

The South has been regarded as the new industrial frontier for the entire nation. From a sociological perspective, one may conduct further studies upon the quantitative structural changes and their effects on the endemic institutions and social structures. Primary concern can be placed on community life styles, because these life styles not only are affected by but also stimulate demographic forces. The process of urbanization is not dependent upon nor is the cause of a particular variable. Although a changing structure of urbanizm may be occurring in the South, this is not a finite or totally conceptualized condition. The phenomenon must be studied on a continuous basis relying on the fundamental determinants of size of place, population density, and heterogeneity, but also examining other demographic variables such as the growth of entirely new urban places. Urbanization can be perceived either as the results of population density and size, as the outcome of industrial concentration and enhancement, or as both.

Continuous changes in occupational structure and migration patterns are propensities which will influence future urban growth in the South. Demographic research has enabled me to show that all subregions of the

South have experienced major urban growth since 1950. Since 1960, non-metro urban growth represents a new form of urbanization which has an impact not only on the South but on the entire nation. This thesis has been intended as a study of ecological aggregation, and not as an overall view of total organization in the process of urbanization. There are numerous disparities that exist among the new urban places that have been revealed in this study, and an examination on the characteristics of these new urban places must be conducted from a comparative interactional approach.

As urbanization in the South is reaching a favorable balance in respect to interregional growth in the United States and intra-regional growth in the South, demographic studies need to be concerned with the changing structure of the "New South." Urbanization can be conceived as a transitional process of continuous changes and innovations.

A P P E N D I X

TABLE A

NUMBER OF ENTIRELY NEW URBAN PLACES THAT DID NOT EXIST IN 1960, BY STATES AND COUNTIES:

State	County
Delaware:	New Castle 3, Kent.
Maryland:	Harford 4, Prince Georges 24, Montgomery 15, Cecil 1, Anne Arundel 11, Howard 2, St. Marys 1, Baltimore 3.
Virginia:	Fairfax 17, Arlington 1, Cherterfield 1, Prince Williams 5, Prince George 1, Henrico 2, Hanover 1, Stafford 1, Loudown 1.
North Carolina:	Granville 1, Onslow 2, Craven 1, Henderson 1, McDowell 1, Rockingham 1, Cumberland 1, Alamance 1, Wayne 1, Jredell 1.
South Carolina:	Charleston 3, Greenville 3, Beafort 2, Berkeley 2, Chester 1, Hary 1, Sumter 1, Spartansburg 1.
Georgia:	Floyd 2, Ware 1, Chattahooche-Muscogee 1, Richmond 1, Liberty 1, Glynn 1, Chatham 2.
Florida:	Orange 5, Pasco 4, Monroe 3, Broward 13, Dade 6, Brevard 4, Lee 6, Manatee 2, Polk 2, Volusia 1, Hillsborough 8, Collier 2, Okaloosa 2, Santarosa 2, Sarasota 7, Bay 3, Escombia 2, Palm Beach 1, Indian River 1.
Kentucky:	Jefferson 2, Christian 1, Hardin-Meade 1, Kenton 1.
Tennessee:	Sullivan 2, Hamilton 3, Montgomery 1, Sumner 1, Rutherford 1, Hawkins 1.
Alabama:	Calhoun 2, Jefferson 4, Dade 1.
Mississippi:	Lowndes 1, DeSoto 1, Oktibbeha 1.
Arkansas:	Ashley 1, Pulaski 1.
Louisiana:	St. Mary 1, Caddo 1, Rapides 1, Jefferson 5, Vernon 1, East Baton Rouge 1.
Oklahoma:	Comanche 1.
Texas:	El Paso 2, Angelina 1, Bell-Coryell 1, Bexar 5,

TABLE A (cont'd)

State	County
Texas: (cont'd)	Palo-Pinto-Parke 1, Galveston 2, Lubbock 1, Guadalupe 1, Harris 1, Nuecedes 1, Orange 1.

Source: Current Study.

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